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❀ 8 ❀

THE ROLE OF MILITARY ARCHITECTURE IN MEDIEVAL CILICIA:

THE TRIUMPH OF A NON-URBAN STRATEGY*

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During the medieval period the Armenians established permanent settlements in that part of Cilicia which the topography has shaped into a natural defensive unit.[1] The western and northern borders are formed by the curving range of the Taurus Mountains. The Anti-Taurus Mountains, which abruptly merge into the Taurus near Göksun, constitute the eastern flank of Armenian Cilicia. Together they create a semicircular ring around the alluvial plain. The Mediterranean Sea forms the southern terminus of the Pedias.

The Armenian settlers did not simply inhabit this region as spectators in a theater who calmly sat back and witnessed for almost two hundred years the clash of the two great titans on their borders—the Saracens and the Crusaders—but from the inception of their suzerainty in Cilicia they were drawn into the conflict and eventually consumed by it. The reason that they did succeed as a viable political and military entity for the period

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[1] The area of these settlements encompasses roughly the eastern half of the Roman province of Cilicia. See George Bean and Terence Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963* (Vienna: H. Böhlaus 1965); Keith Hopwood, "Policing the Hinterland: Rough Cilicia and Isauria," *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. Stephen Mitchell (Oxford: B.A.R., 1983). See Edwards, *Fortifications*, Part I.1, note 11.

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of the Crusades is due to the mountainous borders of Cilicia and the integrated network of defenses that they built into them. The Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains do not form a solid vertical barrier but are punctured and torn by river valleys and deep gorges. Since such openings provide passage into Cilicia, the Armenians constructed chains of forts to guard these routes. In most cases it is not one site on a single road but a series of forts that prevents an enemy from advancing on the major roads as well as the auxiliary routes. Most of the forts have intervisibility which allows for rapid communication and the efficient mustering and dispatch of troops. A surprise attack through the mountains was all but impossible. In many cases the Armenian regiments encountered the enemy long before he could descend into the plain. This gave the defenders a tactical advantage in that they could set an ambush and choose the time of battle in familiar territory. Also, if an enemy failed to capture a mountain fort, he would be reluctant to advance farther with his rear undefended. The fortifications became a deterrent against invasion through the passes of Cilicia.[2]

The southern border, the Mediterranean Sea, would seem to be the most vulnerable flank. Yet historically we know that not one of the major attacks, which eventually brought about the downfall of the Armenian kingdom, came by sea. The reason for this is twofold. First, the shoreline of Armenian Cilicia, which stretches roughly from Iskenderun (Alexandretta) to Erdemli, provides few good ports. Because of the constant and heavy siltation of the coast, sandbars, just below the surface of the water, frequently extend into the sea as far as 500 meters. Thus a ship, even with a moderate draft, may have difficulty approaching land. A knowledge of the location and approaches into the deepwater coves made the Cilician pirates especially troublesome to the Roman navy. The second reason that the Mediterranean remained a safe flank is simply that the Armenians never re-occupied the abandoned coastal municipalities (except Ayas) that were the centers of Cilician civilization during the Roman and early Byzantine periods. The Armenian-occupied cities, such as Misis, Adana, Sis, and Tarsus, were located inland. Any invasion by sea would require that an army traverse the marshy coastlands (the areas east of Mersin) with horses and carts. The logistics of such an undertaking would eliminate the element of surprise.

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[2] Wilbrand von Oldenburg (*Peregrinatio*, ed. and trans. J. Laurent (Hamburg, 1859), pp. 15ff.) was the first to discuss the Armenian strategy of blocking the passes with a network of forts. In the tenth-century work on skirmishing, the value of occupying the mountain passes and auxiliary routes is stressed. See *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, ed., trans., notes George T. Dennis (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985), pp. 154ff. This Byzantine source describes the tactics of mountain warfare where few fortresses have been constructed. In Cilicia at least three of the mountain forts were originally founded by the Arabs (see Edwards, *Fortifications*, Part I.5). The Armenians were the first settlers who succeeded in securing all the mountains around the plain.

The Armenians merely maintained a presence at two coastal ports: Ayas and Korykos.[3] Only Ayas seems to have had a civilian population. Korykos has a sea and a land castle which once guarded a harbor. Ayas was especially valuable to the Armenian kingdom because there the trade from the Orient was loaded on Italian ships. Much of the merchandise that was shipped from Ayas was stored in the inland port of Misis. From Misis it was either floated on flat-bottom barges down the Ceyhan (Jeyhan) River to the sea (a distance of about 60 kilometers)[4] or it was transported on the road that linked Misis and Ayas. The large number of garrison forts in the immediate vicinity of Misis testifies to the importance of Venetian and Genoese warehouses there. That the Armenians neglected their coastline and were often too willing to hand over the administration of the vital eastern trade to the Italians is a reflection on their origins. The Armenians are a mountain-dwelling people, and they readily adapted to life in the Highlands of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains of Cilicia.

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[3] The Armenian military presence in Ayas is sporadic. The ancient port of Pompeiopolis is occasionally mentioned in the medieval chronicles. The Constable Smbat (or Smbat Sparapet), *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens* (*RHC, DocArm*) (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1869-1906; repr. Farnborough, 1967), vol. 1, pp. 666, 674ff. This small port was not an emporium for European merchants; it was the seat of a bishop.

[4] Great Britain, *A Handbook of Asia Minor*, vol. 4, part 2, *Cilicia, Antitauras, and North Syria* (London: H.M.S.O., 1919), p. 59, cited hereafter as *Handbook*. In the medieval period the river must have been broad, for the Byzantine fleet customarily anchored in the Pyramos (Ceyhan/Jeyhan); see Nicetas Choniatēs, *Historia*, ed. Joannes Van Dieten (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), p. 50.

The two principal approaches through the east flank of the Armenian kingdom are the Belen and Amanus passes.[5] The Belen pass connects Kırıkhan and Antakya to Iskenderun. The guardian on the east flank of the pass in the foothills of the Anti-Taurus is Bağras (Baghras). Prior to Iskenderun there is no fort on the west flank of the pass. Since this small port town is not mentioned in the chronicles as having an Armenian settlement and since Bağras was a Crusader possession for most of its history, it is probably safe to assume that medieval Alexandretta was a Crusader port.[6] This conclusion is supported by the presence of a smaller and more difficult pass 30 kilometers north of Belen. The pass is guarded by the Crusader fort at Çalan (Chalan). This Çalan pass terminates at a point north of Iskenderun where the Pillar of Jonah (the "Portella") is located. The Pillar was a toll station that the Crusaders possessed for most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. About 1 kilometer to the northeast of the Pillar is the fort of Sarı Seki; both sites seem to mark the southeastern extent of the Armenian kingdom.[7] Sarı Seki could easily control traffic moving north from Kırıkhan (via the Çalan pass) or Iskenderun. Between Sarı Seki and the second major opening in the Anti-Taurus Mountains, the Amanus pass, are five minor passes that cut across in an east-west direction. They are guarded directly or indirectly by Armenian forts. The Amanus pass is protected at its east end by Hasanbeyli and at the west by Savranda. The Amanus route is sometimes confused with the Bahçe (Baghche) pass which lies 6 kilometers to the north. Part of the modern paved road that links Adana to Gaziantep (Aintab) actually cuts a new route between both passes. From Maraş (Marash) there are at least four trails that traverse the north-east boundary of Cilicia. Kalası, Dibi, Geben, and Haruniye are four forts on these routes. Undoubtedly further exploration along these Maraş trails will uncover other garrison forts.

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[5] The specific topography of the major passes leading into Cilicia has been discussed extensively, See William Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia* (London: John W. Parker, 1842), pp. 71ff; U.B. Alkım, "Ein altes Wegenetz im südwestlichen Antitaurus-Gebeit," *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 1.2 (1959): 207-22; J.G.C. Anderson, "The Road-System of Eastern Asia Minor with the Evidence of Byzantine Campaigns," *Journal of Roman Studies* 17 (1897); C. Favre and B. Mandrot, "Cilicie," in *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l'Orient*, ed. A. Chauvet and E. Isambert (Paris, 1882), vol. 3, pp. 754ff; R.P. Harper, "Podandus and the Via Tauri," *Anatolian Studies* 20 (1970): 149-53; Friedrich Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977), pp. 51ff; Friedrich Hild and Marcell Restle, *Kappadokien* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), pp. 41ff; Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1890), pp. 105ff; William M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London: J. Murray, 1890), pp. 349ff; idem, "Cilicia, Tarsus and the Great Taurus Pass," *Geographical Journal* 22 (1903): 357-413; D.G. Hogarth and J.A.R. Munro, *Modern and Ancient Roads in Eastern Asia Minor* (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1893), pp. 643ff; W. Brice, "The Roman Roads through the Anti-Taurus and the Tigris Bridge at Hasan Keyf," in *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann*, ed. Johann Tischler (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1982), pp. 19-33; Konrad Miller, *Itineraria romana* (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1916), pp. 749-54; Franz Gustav Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen* (Leipzig: Mayer and Müller, 1924-26), vol. 1, pp. 136-51, vol. 2, pp. 30ff; *Handbook*, pp 66ff; D. Van Berchem, "Le port de Seleucie de Pierie et l'infrastructure logistique des guerres parthiques," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 185 (1985): 47-87; David French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, vol. 1: *The Pilgrim's Road* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981), pp. 92-95, 98-100, maps 6 and 7; Arthur W. Janke, *Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden: Eine Reise durch Kleinasien* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1904), pp. 31-49.

[6] Wilbrand von Oldenburg (*Peregrinatio*, p. 16) crossed the Belen pass when

Between Saimbeyli (Hajin/Hachen) and Süleymanlı (Zeytun)

Bağras was briefly held by the Armenians. For Wilbrand the contemporary Alexandretta was a town of little consequence surrounded by a ruined circuit wall. However, by the late sixteenth century John Sanderson found that Alexandretta had become one of the principal ports of the Ottoman north Levant. See *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602*, ed. William Foster (London: Hakluyt Society, 1931), pp. 63, 167ff, 176, 199, 213, 222. Cf. Bertrandon de la Brocquière, *Le voyage d'outremer*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892), p. 94.

[7] R. De Mas Latrie, ed., *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891-1893), vol. 1, p. 89; E. Rey, "Les périples des côtes de Syrie et de la Petite Arménie," *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2 (1884): 332ff; Michael the Syrian, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 349n1; Gregory the Priest, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 171n1; Paul Deschamps, *Les châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte*, vol. 3: *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1934; repr. 1973), p. 70. In the fourteenth century this line of demarcation probably shifted north to Canamella/Caramela; see Konrad Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1909; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962), p. 237.

there are two major trails that move from north to south. The most important one is the Göksun-Andırın trail that leads to Kadirli and the plain. This route is guarded by six forts. To the west the Saimbeyli-Kozan (Sis) road is protected by three forts. Between this route and the Tarsus-Pozantı (Bozanti) road through the Cilician Gates there are three other trails which today are passable only by jeep. However, in medieval times these trails were thought worthy enough to be guarded by forts like Bostan, Meydan, Tamrut, and Milvan. The fortress at Gülek has a commanding view of the Cilician Gates and inter-visibility with Tarsus. Three other routes to the west of Gülek also enter Armenian Cilicia and are guarded by a series of forts.

That the Armenians chose to defend and inhabit the valleys in the mountains is not surprising. Their traditional homelands, such as Vaspurakan and Ayrarat, were too often the site of violent confrontations between the Latin and Greek west and the Persian and Arab east. The mountains have always provided a secure sanctuary. However, the Armenians in Cilicia also settled part of the broad, almost sea-level plain by constructing garrison forts and even occupying a few of the late antique cities.[8] Misis, Sis, Adana, and Tarsus were protected by the enveloping ring of mountain fortresses, castles in the plain, and the barren coastline. Thus Armenian Cilicia was a bipartite kingdom consisting of the mountainous settlements, some of which were the great baronial seats like Lampron (Lambron), Çandır (Chandir), and Vahga (Vahka), and the inland (or northern) plain. If an invading force penetrated and overran the Armenian defenses of the latter, then the Armenian barons who resided in the plain could take refuge in the mountains.

A variety of factors necessitated the Armenian habitation of at least the northern half of the plain. The fertile soil, a constant supply of water, and a temperate climate make the Cilician plain the most fertile agricultural area in all of Anatolia. By controlling the plain the Armenians also licensed and taxed (as middlemen) the storage of the goods brought through the Taurus

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[8] Most of the antique cities in Cilicia were founded by Hellenistic kings. See A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 191ff.

Mountains from the Orient.[9] To have control of the mountains alone would simply allow them to charge a toll on passing caravans.

We are fortunate to have a brief description of one of the oriental trade routes that ran from Iran to Armenian Cilicia. In the early fourteenth century Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, a Florentine scholar and entrepreneur, describes the road that leads from Ayas to Tabriz.[10] The largest section of this route, which runs east from Sivas to Tabriz via Erzincan (Erzinjan), Erzerum, and Khoy, has been securely located and described in a number of modern commentaries.[11] Pegolotti mentions that the caravans pass from Ayas through Colidara, Gandon, and Casena before reaching Sivas. Of these three sites between Ayas and Sivas, Casena has been identified with Caesarea in Cappadocia.[12] The locations of Colidara and Gandon are uncertain. In both cases Pegolotti is trying to render Armenian place names so that they can be understood by his Italian readers. This rendition probably resulted in a slight change of spelling and pronunciation. H.A. Manandian accepts Wilhelm Heyd's identification of Colidara with the Armenian fortress of Copitar (Kopitar).[13] However, this fortress has never been securely identified; Ghevond Alishan hypothesized that the district of Copitar lies between Partzerpert (Bardzrberd) and Molevon.[14] These regions are northwest of Ayas and nearer to the area of the Cilician Gates. For most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the district immediately north of the Cilician Gates, near modern Ulukışla (Ulukisha) and the medieval Loulon, was under the control of the Rum Seljuks. Thus the Tarsus-Pozantı road through the Cilician Gates would not have been a suitable route for Armenian trade. I believe that the site of Gandon can be identified with Geben (Kapan/Gabon) in northeast Cilicia. Geben is a logical choice for we know that in 1201 King Levon I signed a trade agreement with the Genoese that specifically stipulated that the Italians had to pay an extra toll when passing the region controlled by Geben's lord.[15] The route from Ayas to Geben initially follows the course of the Ceyhan River before turning into the valley cut by the Andırın Suyu. In the Armenian chronicles there is mention of a fortress by the name of Govara near the Ceyhan River.[16] If this fortress is Colidara, then the route described by Pegolotti predictably follows the most heavily fortified road in Cilicia. M.H. Kiepert also discusses another trade route that runs north from Sis through Saimbeyli and eventually leads to Caesarea.[17] From the account of Marco Polo it appears that Ayas was the traditional point of departure for travel to the Far East.[18]

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[9] Ghevond Alishan, *L'Armeno-Veneto: Compendio storico e documenti delle relazioni degli Armeni con Veneziani* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1893), pp. 13ff; J. Richard, "Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States," in Kenneth M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 5: *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 265.

[10] Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura,* ed. Allen Evans (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), pp. 28ff, 389.

[11] Hakob A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to the Ancient World*, 2d ed., trans. Nina G. Garsoïan (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1965), pp. 187ff; Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, 2d ed., trans. Furcy Raynaud, vol. 2 (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1923), pp. 112ff; M. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. 2 (London, 1866), pp. 299ff.

[12] Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, pp.191ff; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, vol. 2, p. 114; T.S.R. Boase, ed., *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1978), p. 165.

[13] Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, pp. 191ff; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, vol. 2, p. 114; Boase, *Cilician Kingdom*, p. 165.

A strong Armenian presence in the plain resulted in improved communications. Normally, contact between the forts in the Taurus Mountains (that is, the areas to the north and west of the plain) was on a north-south axis, following the alignment of the river valleys. This meant that Azgit, which could communicate quickly (either by horseman or signal fire) with the forts at Geben, Kalası, or Ak, was able to send rapid messages only along the valley cut by the Andırın Suyu. The fortresses at Çem (Chem) and Vahga or even sites farther to the west like Çandır might not learn of a major invasion in the Andırın area until days later. The great advantage of having fortifications in the plain is that they could communicate on an east-west axis and quickly dispatch troops into troubled areas. Every garrison fort in Cilicia Pedias has inter-visibility with at least two other forts in the plain and most can communicate directly with the Highland valleys.[19] Since the garrison forts of the plain are built

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[14] Ghevond Alishan, *Sissouan, ou l'Arméno-Cilicie. Description géographique et historique* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1899), p. 167; Edwards, *Fortifications*, s.v. "Meydan," pp. 189-94 and Appendix 3, note 7.

[15] Manandian (*Trade and Cities*) believes the Geben area to be an important route for trade, but he has confused some of the place names in his text. The most direct route from Geben to Caesarea is through Göksun.

[16] Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 240; Hansgerd Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien* (Bonn: Habelt, 1976), pp. 169, 186. Unfortunately it is impossible to identify Govara with a specific fort in the plain. The likely candidates are Bodrum, Gökvelioğlu, and Tumlu.

[17] M.H. Kiepert, "Über Pegolotti's vorderasiatisches Itinerar," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Berliner Akademie* (1881), pp. 901ff.

[18] Marco Polo, *The Travels*, trans. Ronald Latham (New York: Penguin Books, 1958), pp. 37, 39, 46.

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[19] In my opinion, the ability of men in fortifications to communicate with fire and smoke to their counterparts has been exaggerated. Over the last century many of those who have studied Cilician forts have published maps that claim to show the lines of visual communication (C. Favre and B. Mandrot, "Voyage en Cilicie, 1874," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* (1878): 145-51; Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders*, trans. J. Maxwell Brownjohn (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), pp. 108ff; Robin Fedden and John Thomson, *Crusader Castles* (London: J. Murray, 1957), pp. 12, 54; Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, p. 262, pl. 92). In many instances my own observations have confirmed their conclusions, and I have listed in my discussion of each site (Edwards, *Fortifications*, Catalogue) the neighboring fortifications that are clearly visible. However, in some cases it is geographically impossible for forts in very close proximity to communicate visually. For example, Yılan cannot communicate directly with Gökvelioğlu at the southwest. The Cebelinur Dağı (Jebelinur Daghi), which rises to a height of 840 meters, blocks a direct line of sight. Since both forts have inter-visibility with Misis, it was possible to communicate through a second party. It has been claimed that Azgit (Fedden and Thomson, *Crusader Castles*, p. 54) and Ak (Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, pl. 92) have inter-visibility with Anavarza. But in both cases the Taurus Mountains in the region of Andırın block any view into the plain. Azgit Kalesi is actually on a small outcrop in the bottom of a valley. Ak Kale is situated on an ascending outcrop above a river, but it is not on the summit of the gorge. The greatest flexibility with respect to inter-visibility is with the forts in the plain. Even here there are limitations in that a centrally placed fortress like Anavarza cannot communicate directly with Adana or Bodrum.

The chief impediment to visual communication among forts that have inter-visibility is the weather. By the nature of its topography and location, Andıl must have inter-visibility with Sis. Yet for all the weeks I spent at Sis and Andıl, never once was I able to see the other site because of a thick cloud cover that seemed to be anchored to the 1,500-meter peak of Andıl Dağı. During the late spring, summer, and fall there is an almost constant thick haze that is created naturally when the intense on the occasional outcrops, they do not differ architecturally from the mountain forts. Generally the garrison forts in the plain are slightly larger than those in the mountains, and because there are fewer obstructions in the plain they are spaced widely apart. It should be stressed that their exact location in the plain always depends on the proximity of an outcrop. The close relationship between the forts in the mountains and in the plain was also symbiotic in that the fortified port of Ayas (the only significant Armenian site on the coastal edge of the plain) brought in various taxes for the Armenian kingdom. Those taxes, in turn, could finance the maintenance of existing garrisons and even the construction of new forts in the mountains. This increased security made Ayas the safest harbor in southern Anatolia and the Levant, insuring a steady and increasing flow of revenues.

The control of the plain and the wealth that resulted from it had an important political consequence for Armenian Cilicia. The rulers of the Armenian kingdom took an active and often offensive role in the political affairs of their neighbors. However, they could only maintain such activities as long as they had a secure kingdom at home. For example, when King Levon I occupied the Templar fortress of Bağras on the eastern flank of the Anti-Taurus Mountains, his intent was merely to inter-

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heat evaporates the water in the wet alluvial plain. The recent expansion of agriculture and modern industrial pollution certainly contributes to the present loss of visibility. In the 1970s visibility in the summer from most of the plain forts rarely exceeds 10 kilometers. It is very difficult to imagine that even in the medieval period a site like Manjılık could communicate with Ayas or Sarı Seki and that Gülek had constant inter-visibility with Tarsus. Also, it should be remembered that communication by signal in the medieval period was not accomplished with a beam of high-intensity light but with fire and smoke. In the bright Cilician sun this might not be readily visible; night may have been a more efficient time for such communication. Although inter-visibility had its limitations, it is apparent that fire signals as well as mounted couriers played an integral part in the security network around Cilicia. See Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, pp. 352ff; P. Pattenden, "The Byzantine Early Warning System," *Byzantion* 53 (1983): 258-99, esp. notes 1 and 10; S. Parker, "Preliminary Report on the 1982 Season of the Central *Limes Arabicus* Project," *Preliminary Reports of ASOR-Sponsored Excavations 1981-83*, Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (BASOR), Supplement No. 23, ed. Walter E. Rast (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns for the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1985), pp. 18ff.

fere in the internal affairs of Antioch.[20] When the Crusaders from the south and the Turkmen from the north began to penetrate the borders of the Armenian kingdom and harass the population, Levon permanently withdrew from Bağras.

When speaking about the mutual dependence of the fortifications in the plain and mountains, one should not assume that the urban centers played an important role in the defense of the kingdom. All of the late antique cities of Cilicia, which are within the confines of the Armenian kingdom and inhabited (that is, Tarsus, Adana, Ayas, Misis, Hieropolis/Castabala, Sis, and Anazarbus), are located in the plain and described as having neighboring garrison forts, but there is *no* evidence that city walls were ever constructed by the Armenians. Nor is there any mention that the Roman-Byzantine-Arab walls around cities like Tarsus and Adana were ever repaired.[21] A close inspection of Ayas reveals that the surviving land fort is an Ottoman construction; if that plan follows the original medieval circuit, then it was adequate to protect only the Venetian and Genoese warehouses in one corner of the port. In the first decade of the thirteenth century Wilbrand von Oldenburg expresses wonder at the magnificent fortifications of the Armenian kingdom, but he cannot hide his disappointment when he first sees the Armenian capital at Sis. He describes it as almost an unwalled village.[22] He reserves his praise for the fortress and walled palace at Sis. His description of Anazarbus leaves the clear impression that the late antique city is abandoned and that only the adjacent fortress is occupied:

> . . . we came to Naversa, which is a very strong castle positioned on the top of an outcrop (*quod est castrum optimum in alto monte situm*), which nature has centrally placed in the plain of that land to the best advantage of the king. For this reason the king himself usually calls his own banner "Naversa."

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[20] Robert W. Edwards, "Bağras and Armenian Cilicia: A Reassessment," *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s., 17 (1983): 431.

[21] Hetty Goldman, ed., *Excavation at Güzlü Kule, Tarsus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), vol. 1, pp. 29, 37; F. Day, "The Islamic Finds at Tarsus," *Asia* 41 (1941): 143-46; see note 27 below.

[22] Wilbrand von Oldenburg, *Peregrinatio*, p. 18.

> At the base of the outcrop was once located a city (*in pede huius montis sita fuit quedam civitas*), and that its influence was great is today attested also by a wondrous aqueduct stretching there on tall columns for a distance of two miles.[23]

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[23] Ibid., p. 20. In concluding that the late antique city of Anazarbus was uninhabited during the Armenian period, I am at variance with the opinions of M. Gough. Gough (103) accepts the earlier suggestions of R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm that the foundation of the city circuit was Byzantine and the reconstruction was Armenian. While the repair to the circuit does have a poured core, the facing stones consist of relatively smooth ashlar. Only the Arabs are known to have used a comparable ashlar as an exterior facing stone (cf. Haruniye). The fact that the Cufic inscription of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil was found in a *square* tower of the city circuit would indicate that the repair is from the Arab period. Square towers are anathema in Armenian military architecture. Choniatēs (*Historia*, 25) specifies that in his day the garrison fort atop the outcrop is the well-populated city (πόλις) of "Anazarba." There is no evidence in our texts of a civilian Armenian population in the late antique city. My views on urbanism in Cilicia during both the Arab and Armenian periods differ from those of Lother Rother, *Gedanken zur Stadtentwicklung in der Çukurova (Türkei)* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Reichert/Harrassowitz in Komm., 1972), pp. 31-49.

It is significant that the Armenian archbishop of Anavarza resided permanently at the monastery of Kastaghon, over 115 kilometers from the castle itself. Kastaghoni Vank, a presently unidentified site, was located near Vahga. The monastery may have been established by Greeks and later re-occupied by Armenians. The founders of the Rubenid dynasty were buried there as well as the ascetic Markos. By the fourth quarter of the twelfth century the head of the monastery was also the archbishop of Anavarza. Of the two positions, the latter was by far the more prestigious (a selection made for political reasons by the crown) and probably brought with it the appointment at Kastaghon. At the coronation of Levon I, Ter Kostandin held both positions. Considering that Sis is situated between Anavarza and Vahga, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of this archbishop could not have extended from the plain to Kastaghon. After 1198 the chief cleric at Sis certainly administered the regions adjacent to the capital. The archbishop of Anavarza resided in the mountainous Kastaghon primarily because it was safer than the vulnerable, underpopulated plain and, secondarily, because his largest area of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was north of Sis. By the second half of the thirteenth century the decline of Anavarza's importance and the frequent invasions in the plain resulted in the permanent separation of this joint position. See Smbat, *RHC, DocArm*, p. 610; Smbat, *La chronique attributée au Connétable Smbat*, intro., trans., and notes Gerard Dédéyan (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1980), p. 74n18; Matthew of Edessa, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, pp. 48, 79; Vahram of Edessa, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 498; Samuel of Ani, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 448; Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 173, 280; Sukias Eprikian, *Patkerazard bnashkharhik bararan*, 2 vols. (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1903-05), vol. 2, pp. 281ff; note 34 below. There is a similar experience in the Greek world, where Byzantine bishops who feared Turkish raids seldom saw their sees; see Speros Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval*

Canamella (Hieropolis/Castabala?) was also a ghost town, for Wilbrand twice passes the site and only refers to it briefly as a *castellum* (that is, a citadel, fort, or stronghold).[24] When Wilbrand does encounter an inhabited city he always comments on the population. Of Misis he says that the city is encircled by a turreted wall that had collapsed through old age (*sed antiquitate corrosum*) and that the population is small (*paucos . . . habens inhabitatores*).[25] Wilbrand characterizes Adana as *non divites habens cives*.[26] The only city that Wilbrand labels as populous (*multos habens inhabitatores*) is Tarsus.[27] It also happens to be

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Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 288-350.

[24] Wilbrand von Oldenburg, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 17, 20, 72n98. J. Laurent's association of Canamella with Hieropolis/Castabala is uncertain.

[25] Ibid., p. 17.

[26] Ibid., p. 18. Adana may not have been rebuilt after its destruction by the Turks in 1137. See A.S. Tritton and H.A.R. Gibb, "The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1933): 276ff. Marco Polo (*Travels*, p. 46), who makes a point of referring to only "villages" and "towns" in Cilicia (in contrast to the "cities" of the Far East), provides one explanation for the general neglect of urban centers when he describes Cilicia's humid climate as unhealthy and extremely enervating. Cf. Brocquière, *Le voyage d'outremer*, p. 99n1. Both Tarsus and Adana played a minor role in Cilician trade.

[27] Wilbrand von Oldenburg, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 17ff. To what extent King Hetum I repaired the city walls in 1228 cannot be determined; he may have simply refortified the citadel within Tarsus. See Victor Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les montagnes du Taurus: exécuté pendant les années 1851-1853* (Paris: B. Duprat, 1861), pp. 315-28; idem, *Rapport sur l'exploration archéologique de la Cilicie et de la Petite-Arménie, pendant les années 1852-1853* (Paris: Impr. impériale, 1854), p. 34; idem, "Notes sur trois inscriptions arméniennes de l'église de la vierge à Tarse (Cilicie)," *Revue Archéologique* 10:2 (1854): 745. Most of the Armenian inscriptions from Tarsus are religious in nature and date from the 1260s to 1319. The one fully extant ecclesiastical construction of medieval Tarsus, which some scholars mistakenly label as the Church of St. Peter (cf. Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem* [Paris: P. Geunther, 1928], vol. 2, pp. 379ff, Fig. 487; Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper, "Kommagne-Kilikien-Isaurien," *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1984), col. 4, p. 281; Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 319ff.) despite evidence associating it with a structure dedicated to St. Paul or the Virgin, is known today as Kilise Cami/Eski Cami. This church is not included in my catalogue of Armenian ecclesiastical architecture (Edwards, "First Report" and "Second Report"), because the architectural features indicate that it was built by the Franks during Baldwin's suzerainty there in the first decades of the twelfth century. Robert W. Edwards, "Ecclesiastical Architecture in

the only city with a predominantly Greek population. It is defended principally by a dilapidated circuit wall, but it does have a strong citadel in the center (*muro cingitur pre antiquitate mutilato, sed castrum habet in capite sui firmum et bonum*).[28] Whether the Armenian garrison in the citadel would have given refuge to part of the Greek population of Tarsus during an invasion is open to speculation.

The vast majority of the population of Armenian Cilicia was rural, and most residents were probably confined to the relatively secure Highland valleys in the mountains. Those who occupied the northern half of the Cilician plain during the period of the kingdom lived outside of cities. The characteristic method of settlement was to have a large garrison fort with a number of scattered villages in the immediate area. The villages were agricultural settlements. This is the kind of description that Wilbrand gives us for the fort of Amuda. During a period of invasion the residents in the immediate vicinity of a fort could flee there for safety. Those who lived farther away simply had

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the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia" [First Report], Dumbarton Oaks Paper, 36 (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), and idem, "Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia" [Second Report], Dumbarton Oaks Paper, 37 (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1983). While the single nave and two flanking aisles of the church's hall plan, as well as the apsidal niches, gabled roof over three longitudinal barrel vaults, pointed arches, and limited use of the Muqarnas, all have precedents in the Armenian religious architecture of both Cilicia and Armenia Major, there are other features whose origin can be traced to the traditions of European Romanesque and Crusader architecture. For example, the numerous and closely spaced transverse arches of the nave vault rise on foliated capitals with attached pilasters that stretch from the arcade spandrels . Cf. Santino Langè, *Architettura della Crociate in Palestina* (Como: P. Cairolli, 1965), pp. 162-65; Enlart, *Monuments*, Figs. 29f, 30-41, 216f, 241, 498, 582. In Armenian construction the transverse arches normally spring directly from the capitals of an arcade, turning the spandrels into abutments for diaphragm walls and eliminating any horizontal molding between the spandrel wall and the springing of the barrel vault. One of the few exceptions can be found in J. M. Thierry, "L'église Surb-Yovhannēs de Biwrakan," *REArm*, n.s., 13 (1978-79): 210. Also, the unarticulated, freestanding, massive round columns of the arcades in the Tarsus church are common in Romanesque structures, completely unknown in Armenian Cilicia, and rare in the ecclesiastical architecture of Armenia Major. When they do occur, they are not made with small ashlar blocks (as here) but with monolithic drums. The inscriptions in this Tarsus church probably record its occupation and repair by the Armenians.

[28] Wilbrand von Oldenburg, *Peregrinatio*, p. 17.

to fend for themselves.[29] The rural nature of Armenian society not only insured the survival of the feudal system but protected it from any potential middle class. All trade agreements and major economic concerns were firmly in the hands of the royal family. Considering the absence of customary amenities (for example, civic buildings, aqueducts, baths, etc.) in the few sparsely populated urban centers of Armenian Cilicia, one might aptly conclude that the late antique cities have become central market towns or even strategic hamlets. At Misis and Adana a small urban garrison protected the trading activities of the residents and neighboring farmers; church services were undoubtedly coordinated with market days.

Those scholars who are concerned with the survival of late antique cities into the Byzantine Middle Ages must surely view the course of events in Cilicia with a sense of irony.[30] For here the Arabs, who are all too often credited with the destruction of the traditional polis, have faithfully rebuilt, repopulated, and defended the urban centers until the mid-tenth-century reconquest by the Greeks. It is the brave new Hellenes under Nicephorus Phocas who evacuate and plunder the cities of Cilicia in their headlong rush to reoccupy northern Syria. For a century and a half the scattered garrisons of Greeks quietly watched the cities of the Pedias (except Tarsus) decay. By the late eleventh century such conditions permitted the Armenians to introduce their new strategy for defense and system of habitation.

What is most interesting about the Armenian experience in Cilicia is that it represents the antithesis of settled life in the Crusader Levant and even in the Bagratid capital of Ani (Armenia Major). Joshua Prawer notes: "The most characteristic trait of Crusader society is its complete urbanization . . . to assure its military striking power the minority (that is, the Christians) gathered itself in walled cities and in castles, and from those centers it kept the countryside in thrall . . . the Crusader cities were, consequently, almost the only habitat of the conquerors."[31] Later the Crusaders expanded from the cities to protect their borders and their income from agricultural produce. Their strategy was simply to guard the ends of the military and commercial roads. There was no attempt to secure a region the size of Cilicia. Two centuries before the great migration into Cilicia some of the Armenian *naxarars* in the regions of Van and Ayrarat made themselves kings, and by efficiently controlling the routes of trade they began a cultural renaissance that culminated for one family in the construction of the great Bagratid city of Ani.[32] Here Armenian society became so "urbanized" that many peasants no longer paid obligations in kind but in coin. Townsmen and artisans received special class privileges from the aristocracy. However, the experiment at Ani was exceptional. The bulk of Armenian society was rural, and the partial destruction and depopulation of Ani in the eleventh century reinforced its traditional contempt for urban life. Instinctively, the Armenians migrating into Cilicia avoided the vulnerable cities in favor of dispersed and fortress-oriented settlements in the mountains and northern plain.[33] The two great dynastic families, the Hetumids and Rubenids, and later the Armenian kings backed by a faithful retinue of barons, provided the political and cultural adhesives that formed a homogeneous society. Because of the security they provided, the mountains and not the plain became the heart of the Armenian kingdom. This explains why the royal capital was moved from Anavarza to Sis at the foot of the Taurus Mountains and why the kingdom functioned for over a hundred years after its capital was sacked by the Mamluks. The king and his court simply moved into the mountain strongholds. The allure of the mountains was so strong that even in the dynastic period, when the Hetumids were the vassals of the Byzantine crown and the official administrators of western Cilicia, they chose not to govern from Tarsus but from their mountain strongholds at Lampron and Çandır. Likewise, it is not surprising that most of the archives, libraries, workshops for ecclesiastical silver, and schools for miniature painting were located in the monasteries and castles of the Taurus.[34]

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[29] Ibid., p. 20. See the section on Amuda in Edwards, *Fortifications*, Catalogue. This policy of not defending the outlying villages was a common practice in Anatolia following the Arab invasions; see Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, pp. 164, 222ff. There is evidence of medieval villages beside the forts at Tumlu, Gökvelioğlu, and Toprak. See G.R. Youngs, "Three Cilician Castles," *Anatolian Studies* 15 (1965): 188.

[30] A. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982): 429ff.

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[31] Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 51ff, 102, 474ff; idem, "Crusader Cities," in *The Medieval City: Studies Presented to R. Lopez*, ed. Harry A. Miskimin et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 179ff; J.L. LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1291* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932); Jean Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1953); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050-1310* (London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967).

[32] Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, pp. 133ff. Professor Nina Garsoïan rejects the views of Manandian and supports the thesis that pre-Seljuk Armenian society was essentially non-urban, even in the Bagratid period.

[33] It is regrettable that no documentation survives from the Armenian kingdom that permits a demographic survey along the lines of Angeliki Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

Precisely how the forts were integrated into the feudal system of Armenian Cilicia is difficult to determine. The Armenian sources from the period of the Cilician kingdom do not supply us with a picture of the socio-political fabric of Armenian society. We do know that King Levon I granted titles and fiefs to Armenian barons and to Crusaders,[35] but we do not know if taxes were collected by baronial or royal officials, how garrisons were trained and paid, or what traditional and oath-bound responsibilities specifically joined a baron to his king. The few summary commentaries we have on these subjects from modern writers are never supported by textual evidence and almost always are derived from paradigms of an earlier feudal system in Armenia Major. A good example is in Manandian's study of the trade and cities of Armenia. His entire assessment of the feudal system in Cilicia is as follows:

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[34] Hamazasp Oskian [Voskian], "Kilikiayi vankere," *Handes amsorya* 69 (1955): 373-96, 505-25, and 70 (1956): 26-45, 163-95, 320-36, 452-67; idem, *Kilikiayi vankere* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1957), *passim*; A. Kakovkin, "Pamiatniki khudozhestvennogo serebra kilikiĭskoĭ Armenii," *Patma-banasirakan handes* 69:2 (1975): 192-208; Grigor Aknercʿi, *History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols)*, ed. and trans. Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 390n63; Nerses Akinian, "Akants kam Akneri vanke," *Handes amsorya* (1948): 217-50; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1977-78), pp. 123-62, esp. p. 253.

[35] Appendix 3 contains what may be a partial list of Cilician barons and their castles. See also the sections on Haruniye, Amuda, and Silifke in the Catalogue in Edwards, *Fortifications*; Kurt Forstreuter, *Der deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer* (Bonn: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1967), pp. 59-67. Cf. N. Oikonomidès, "The Donations of Castles in the Last Quarter of the 11th Century (Dölger, *Regesten* n° 1012)," *Polychronion, Festschrift Franz Dölger*, ed. Peter Wirth (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1966), pp. 413-17.

> The kingdom of the Rubenids, which had continuous relations with European states, was under the influence of western European feudalism, but at the same time it preserved the chief and specifically Armenian characteristics of the ancient feudal-*naxarar* system. The Cilician kingdom was divided into counties and baronies; it had a class of knights as did western European kingdoms, the Ancient Armenian *azats* called *jiavor*, as well as a class of bound peasants called *šinakan* or *paroikoi*. The following offices existed at the court of the Armenian kings: the chancellor, who supervised the royal chancery, the commander of the army called *connetable* or *spasalar*, the chaplain, the *seneschal*, and others.[36]

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[36] Manandian, *Trade and Cities*, p. 175. Sirarpie Der Nersessian has a similar assessment and has listed the titles of other court officials, including the bailiff (*bayl*), chancellor (*chantsler*), marshal (*marachakhd*), and the chief baron (*avak baron*). See her studies, *The Armenians* (New York: Praeger, 1969), pp. 58-60, and "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Sutton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969), vol. 2, p. 651. She has rightly noted that not only was the nomenclature of Western Europe and the Latin Levant adopted by the Armenian court, but old Byzantine titles, such as *sebastos* and *proximos*, were also retained. E. Dulaurier (pp. 289ff; *RHC, DocArm*, I, pp. lxxiv ff.) mentions similar officials and carefully lists the names of barons who held these offices. V. Hagopian, "The Relations of the Armenians and the Franks during the Reign of Leon II," *Armenia* (Feb. 1909), pp. 17ff, depicts a feudal system in Cilicia that is essentially derived from that of the Franks. However, no commentaries have yet been published that specifically describe the duties of court officials. One detailed view of the Cilician court survives in *Burchard of Mount Sion*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, 1896), pp. 106-10. The best description of the feudal system (or more appropriately dynastic system) in Armenia Major was composed by Nicholas Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, trans. and rev. Nina Garsoïan (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1970). This view of Armenian society before the Arab conquests sheds no light on the social structure in Armenian Cilicia. Cf. C. Dowsett, "A Twelfth-Century Armenian Inscription at Edessa," in *Iran and Islam: In Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Clifford E. Bosworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), pp. 205ff.

Although the *Assises d'Antioche* was translated into Armenian by the late thirteenth century, no assizes of Armenian Cilicia have yet been discovered.[37] Aside from Smbat's rather vague comment that a baron's castle passed to his heirs as inalienable property, we know little about the feudal districts. Since the territory of Armenian Cilicia has a higher concentration of military architecture than any other region in the Middle East of equivalent size, the organization required to coordinate any common activity among the barons must have been huge.

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[37] Ghevond Alishan, ed. and trans., *Assises d'Antioche* (Venice, 1876), pp. vi-xxiii. Der Nersessian (*Armenians*) believes that as the authority of the Latin Assizes increased in Cilicia it was necessary for Armenians to translate and adopt them. But there is no evidence in the Armenian chronicles that the Assizes of Antioch or any other Latin laws were adhered to in Cilicia. If an attempt was made to introduce the Assizes of Antioch, it may have been as unsuccessful as King Levon's short-lived attempt to introduce Roman Catholicism. One frequently-cited piece of evidence that seems to link the Armenian feudal system with Latin law is a short excerpt in the Assizes of Jerusalem (*RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 605n1). In this passage the Baron Constantine asks John of Ibelin to decide whether he (Constantine) has the right to bestow the castles at Korykos on his younger son (Oshin) when the older son (Constable Smbat) claims the gift. John of Ibelin decides that Constantine does have the right to grant Korykos to Oshin despite the protests of Smbat. However, there is an air of unreality about the whole incident. The Grand Baron Constantine was the father of King Hetum I, and the grant of the castles probably took place around 1240. Why would a baron from the most prominent family in Cilicia seek a solution from a foreign government? The Armenians in Cilicia had been living in fortifications for nearly two centuries and undoubtedly a reliable and accepted system for the transfer of ownership had been in use. The Armenian chronicles never refer to any problem with regard to the transfer of estates. In my opinion, the story in the Assizes of Jerusalem is spurious. Cf. Joseph Karst, *Grundriß der Geschichte des armenischen Rechtes*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: [n.p.], 1907), p. 8n7. In 1265, Smbat completed his legal Codex under a commission from King Hetum I. The vast majority of the sections in this document deal with laws on property, sale, family, and ecclesiastical administration. It is clear that the king regarded the church as an extension of his authority. What receives only the briefest mention in the Codex are the rights and prerogatives governing the barons and their castles (Karst, *Grundriß*, vol. 1, pp. 20-26, 103-05, vol. 2, pp. 2-31, 94-98). When discussing the barons, Smbat does not mention the traditions, precedents, and ancient customs, which are prominent elsewhere in the Codex. I suggest that his brevity and vagueness are intentional. At this time Het'um's position was weak due to internal dissension and external threats. He probably lost considerable power with respect to his barons, and he wanted neither to advertise nor codify this reality. In chronicles written after 1265 the Codex is never cited as a source of authority in disputes between the barons and the king. See also W.H. Rüdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963), pp. 27f f, and the bibliography of modern Armenian commentaries in Kevork Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

Aside from the discovery and identification of many hitherto unknown forts in Armenian Cilicia, the most important result of my many field surveys is that now we have a better idea of the boundaries of the Armenian kingdom. It is much smaller than modem commentators had ever suspected.[38] The forts of Armenian construction follow the west flank of the Anti-Taurus Mountains until the latter merge into the Taurus Mountains just south of the latitude of Göksun.[39] The line of forts then follows the curving south flank of the Taurus Mountains until reaching the sea. The most northerly of the Armenian forts appears to be Hajin/Saimbeyli. King Levon I is said to have carried out raids north of the modem village of Ulukışla, which is on the north flank of the Taurus Mountains. He is also said to have captured and briefly held the Byzantine fort of Loulon (near Ulukışla).[40] But there is no evidence of Armenian construction at Loulon. What is most surprising is that Cilicia Tracheia, which was often included with Cilicia Pedias in forming the administrative district of "Cilicia" during the late Roman and early Byzantine periods, was almost ignored with regard to long-term Armenian settlement. There are records of Armenian campaigns as far west as Alanya[41] and even a totally unjustified claim that the coastal fort at Anamur is an Armenian construction.[42] In reality the only site under Armenian suzerainty west of Korykos was the large castle at Silifke. This site was given to the Crusader Order of the Hospital by King Levon I, and most of the medieval construction at Silifke belongs to the Crusader period of occupation. Silifke Kalesi was so far removed from the major Armenian settlements to the east that it was considered a frontier whose defenses could safely be entrusted to others.[43] Korykos and

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[38] A. Sukiasian, *Istoriia Kilikiiskogo armianskogo gosudarstva i prava (XI-XIV vv.)* (Erevan, 1969), map; Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 71ff; Ghevond Alishan, *Léon le magnifique, premier roi de Sissouan ou de l'Armenocilicie*, trans. Georges Bayan (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1888), pp. 17ff; Langlois, *Voyage*, pp. 3ff; G. Mikaelian, *Istoriia Kilikiiskogo armianskogo gosudarstva* (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1952), map; Harutiun Der Ghazarian, *Haykakan Kilikia* (Beirut: Compatriotic Union of Marash, 1966), pp. 63ff; Boase, *Cilician Kingdom*, map (front); Smbat, *La chronique*, Dédéyan, opposite p. 136. The aforementioned commentators hypothesized the unusually large and unjustified boundaries for the Armenian kingdom based *only* on the ambiguous guest list for Levon I's coronation (see my response in Edwards, *Fortifications*, Appendix 3) and the brief Armenian occupation of the regions near Anamur (see note 42 below). My conclusion is based on two presuppositions: first, that the architectural traditions of the Armenian kingdom are fairly consistent, so that it is possible to identify unattested forts (i.e., structures that have neither inscriptions nor specific mention in the medieval chronicles) as Armenian constructions; and second, that my explorations in Cilicia and its environs were quite adequate to get at least a good sample of the buildings in a given region.

[39] My survey of the regions north and west of Maraş was adequate but not complete. Further study of these regions may yield more Armenian forts. Forts and monasteries have been identified near Fırnıs (Fawrnaws) and Zeytun.

[40] Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem*, p. 51; see Edwards, *Fortifications*, Appendix 3.

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[41] Seton Lloyd and D. Strorm Rice, *Alanya (ʿAlā'iyya)* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1958), pp. 2ff.

[42] David M. Lang, *Armenia: Cradle of Civilization* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970), p. 210; cf. Boase, *Cilician Kingdom*, pp. 15ff, and Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, p. 260. It is quite possible that repairs were carried out to the medieval fort above Eski Anamur during the period of Levon's brief occupation (roughly from 1196 to 1219). The neighboring fort of Softa Kalesi may in part be Armenian. But there was no attempt by subsequent rulers to recapture the littoral of Cilicia Tracheia. It was never treated as a permanent part of the medieval kingdom of Armenia. Although Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Die Frankengeschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn,* intro., trans., comm. Karl Jahn (Vienna: Verl. d. Österr, Akad. d. Wiss., 1977), p. 44, indicates in a general way that the Armenian kingdom ("Little Armenia") extends from Malatya to the borders of Rum in his day (the late thirteenth century), he adds the specific qualification that its territory is surrounded by mountains and is possessed of five major cities: Ayas, Sis, Tarsus, Adana, and Misis. The absence of any mention of Maraş, Silifke, or Anamur indicates that the kingdom has contracted into its natural mountainous defenses. His mention of twenty thousand flourishing settlements is obviously an exaggeration. Some Armenians lived in proximity to Anamur until 1923. An Armenian church that once stood near the coastal fortress of Anamur is poorly attested in modern sources. The relief decoration on this church postdated the fifteenth century; see Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 379ff; Eprikian, *Patkerazard bnashkharik bararan*, vol. 1, pp. 165-67; J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa,* vol. 2 (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1918), p. 540; Nazmi Sevgen, *Anadolu kaleleri* (Ankara: Doguş Matbaası, 1959), pp. 49ff. No verifiable sites of Armenian construction were located in the Tracheia during the surveys of Bean and Mitford. Two presently unpublished Armenian inscriptions are said to be at Lausada; see George E. Bean and Terence B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968* (Vienna: Graz, Böhlau, 1970), pp. 121, 195, 210.

[43] No non-Armenians were given a fort in the mountains or Highlands; see note 35 above. Often the grant of a fortress to a Crusader order was intended to be

Lamas are not Armenian constructions, but the former was occupied by an Armenian garrison because of its strategic value as Cilicia's other port.

The western border that marks the beginning of Armenian construction appears to run from Tece (Teje) to Arslanköy. I believe that the reason for the limited western expansion of the Armenian kingdom is twofold: geography and climate. The line from Arslanköy to Tece is the point where the Taurus Mountains turn into the Mediterranean Sea. For the Armenians to expand farther west would have put them in the natural, mountainous buffer that separated their kingdom from the territory of the Sultan of Rum (Konya) and later the Karamanoğlu emirs.[44] The second and perhaps the most important reason why the Armenians did not expand farther west was that the regions north and west of Erdemli are hot, dry, and barren.[45] Even today the population in these areas is sparse, and the few inland settlements can barely earn a living from the soil. Armenian Cilicia was confined to a self-contained geographical unit. The Armenians defended themselves by simply shoring up the openings in a natural barrier to create a continuous semicircular march. While this was the first attempt to secure Cilicia in such a

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temporary. It was viewed as part of a short-term, politically expedient alliance and a source of free military labor. Occasionally, this ephemeral and very manipulative aspect of Armenian politics led to misunderstandings among the European "allies." In 1328, Pope John XXII (acting on behalf of the Hospitalers) demanded from the Cilician crown the return of Frankish estates on the borders of Cilicia Pedias. Since Levon IV wanted to keep the Hospitalers at a distance, he enthusiastically offered (in 1332) to give to the order in perpetuity two forts near Anamur (deep in Cilicia Tracheia), which the Armenians had been unable to garrison for over a hundred years! See *Annales ecclesiastici*, ed. C. Baronius, XXIV (Bar-le-Ouc, 1872), pp. 499ff.

[44] The castle at Silifke was a prize for which the Sultan of Konya contended; see Edwards, *Fortifications*, s.v. "Silifke" in the Catalogue.

[45] It may be more than coincidental that this natural boundary north of Erdemli is very near the Lamas River, which cut the border between the two Cilicias in ancient times and later separated the Byzantines from the Arabs. See C. Huart, "Lamas-Su," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 13; T. Mitford, "Roman Rough Cilicia," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2, pt. 7, sec. 2 (1980): 1241; Charles Texier, *Asie Mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique* (Paris: F. Didot, 1862), p. 726; Strabo, *Geography* (Loeb Classical Library), XIV.v.6; Janke, *Auf Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 5; Edwards, *Fortifications*, s.v. "Lamas," pp. 175-76 and note 3.

manner,[46] it was a strategy that the Armenians had earlier seen in the area of Lake Van. Their predecessors in the Van region, the Urartians under Rusas I, had constructed a network of garrison forts in the mountains to seal off most of the fertile regions around the shores of the lake.[47]

Lampron

One of the most famous castles in Armenian history is Lampron.[48] It was the seat of Hetumid power in the northwest corner of Armenian Cilicia.[49] This fortress is situated on a pedestal of limestone that projects from the southern tip of the Bulgar Dağı (Daghi). Lampronis conveniently situated at the intersection of three Highland valleys and has a commanding view to the north and to the south.[50] This writer knows of only one site, the small fortified estate house at Sinap, that has clear inter-visibility with Lampron. The latter is also at a crossroad where trails lead north (via Sinap) to Gülek and across the Bulgar Dağı to Ulukışla. Of the two southern trails from Lampron, one meanders to the west, eventually reaching Çandır and the other joins the major highway from Tarsus to Pozantı and Cappadocia.[51] The entire length of the Lampron (Namrun)-Tarsus highway (approximately 74 kilometers) is paved, and a bus service shuttles passengers from the unbearable heat of Tarsus in the summer to the resort of Namrun.

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[46] The Neo-Hittites, Byzantines, and Arabs fortified only select areas in Cilicia.

[47] C. Bumey, "Urartian Fortresses and Towns in the Van Region," *Anatolian Studies* 7 (1957): 38. It should be noted that the ring of defenses in Cilicia was by no means impregnable in the late thirteenth and the fourteenth century. See Ibn Bībī, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, trans. H. Duda (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959), pp. 140-42.

[48] The plan of this site was begun in spring 1973 and finished during my second visit in summer 1979. I intentionally did not consult any of the published plans of Lampron during my survey in order to see this site in an unbiased light. Due to the limitations of time, many of the contour lines on the plan are estimated. Generally, the contours are placed at intervals of 40 centimeters. Not all of the scarped surfaces on the fortress-outcrop are indicated.

[49] In Armenian chronicles this site is referred to as Lambron or Lambrun. The Arabs altered the spelling with the designation of Tamrün. On a French map of the thirteenth century it is listed as Les Embruns; see F.C.R. Robinson and P.C. Hughes, "Lampron—Castle of Armenian Cilicia," *Anatolian Studies* 19 (1969): 183n2. On nineteenth- and twentieth-century maps this site is usually listed as Namrun, Namroun, Nemrun, or Lampron. Refer to the following modern maps: *Adana (2), Cilician Gates, Cilicie, Ulukişla*, in Edwards, *Fortifications*.

[50] In the early 1960s the Turkish government attempted to rename the site Çamlıyayla (or Cumliyaila). The locals still refer to it as Namrun and the castle as Lampron Kalesi. One recent Turkish map, "Cilicia," published by Silifke Turizm ve Tanitma Derneği (Ankara, 1966), refers to the site as "Namrun (Lampron)." See also Der Ghazarian, *Haykakan Kilikia*, pp. 15ff.

In 1969 one visitor noted that the settlement of Namrun at the base of the castle-outcrop had approximately a hundred homes.[52] Ten years later this writer saw over five hundred residences, some with heated swimming pools. Today Namrun is the largest and one of the most fashionable resorts east of Alanya. As in medieval times, the modern settlement is supplied with fresh mountain water from one of the major tributaries that flow into the Tarsus Irmağı (Irmaghi).

It is often remarked that Lampron's great strategic value lay in the guardianship of the Cilician Gates (above Gülek).[53] In 1973 I rode northeast by horse from Namrun to Gülek in two days. In the medieval period it would have taken the same time (if not longer) to move a mounted force to the Cilician Gates. Unless some intervening fortresses are found, it is likely that Gülek did not have inter-visibility with Lampron. Thus it is quite possible that an enemy from the north could seize the Cilician Gates before the arrival of troops from Lampron.[54]

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many visitors commented on the beauty of Lampron, but only on two occasions have serious architectural studies been conducted. Robinson and Hughes published their study of Lampron Kalesi in 1969, and in the opinion of this writer it is one of the better architectural and historical surveys of an Armenian fort. In 1976 Hansgerd Hellenkemper published a shorter analysis with some new perspectives.[55] It would be of no value to repeat these previous accounts. I will offer here a brief summary of the significant events in Lampron's history as well as a digest of the important architectural features that appear on the new plan of the fort (Fig. 1).

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[51] Favre and Mandrot, "Cilicie," p. 772.

[52] Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, p. 228; cf. Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892), vol. 2, p. 48.

[53] Robinson and Hughes, "Lampron," p. 183; Boase, *Cilician Kingdom*, p. 170; Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 80ff; Langlois, "*Lampron*," pp. 119-22; Eprikian, *Patkerazard bnashkharhik bararan*, vol. 2, pp. 85-89; F. Sümer, "Çukurova tarihine dâir araştırmalar," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1:1 (1963): 22, 76; *Handbook*, pp. 238, 245; F. Schaffer, "Cilicia," *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 141 (1903), pp. 56ff.

[54] The author of the tenth-century treatise on skirmishing would probably agree with this assessment; see Dennis, *Military Treatises*, pp. 158, 182ff.

In the third quarter of the eleventh century many Armenian *naxarars* in the regions north and east of Van fled the Seljuk invaders and settled in Cilicia. To one of these Armenian chieftains, Oshin, the governor of Tarsus, Aplgharip, gave the fief of Lampron.[56] This appointment was confirmed by the Byzantine emperor, who also gave Oshin the title of sebastos. Prior to this Armenian occupation, the Greeks appear to have had a fortified outpost on the Lampron outcrop.[57] Oshin's son, Hetum, gave his name to the dynasty that was to reign in Lampron through the fourteenth century. The history of the eventual submission of the Hetumids to the other great Cilician family, the Rubenids, is summarized in Part I.1 of Edwards, *Fortifications*.

That the Hetumids maintained their independence against the Rubenids until 1201/02 is due to the impregnable nature of Lampron. In 1171, 1176, and 1182 the Rubenids failed to capture the fort by direct assault and long-term siege.[58] Hetum came to the coronation of Levon I not as a vassal but as the autonomous lord of Lampron. King Levon finally used the subterfuge of marrying his niece to one of the Hetumid barons in order to draw the Hetumid knights to the wedding feast at Tarsus. During the feast Levon's forces overran Lampron. Levon

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[55] Robinson and Hughes, "Lampron," pp. 183-207. A good historical survey of the site can be found in M. Hovhannesian, *Kilikian berder* (Venice, 1985), pp. 67-79; Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, pp. 228-36.

[56] Der Nersessian, "Kingdom," p. 633; *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* [Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia], 12 vols. (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1974-86), s.v. "Lambron," p. 479.

[57] Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 73.

[58] Vahram of Edessa, *RHC, DocArm*, pp. 509ff; Smbat, *RHC, DocArm*; Smbat, *La chronique*, Dédéyan, pp. 54, 56.

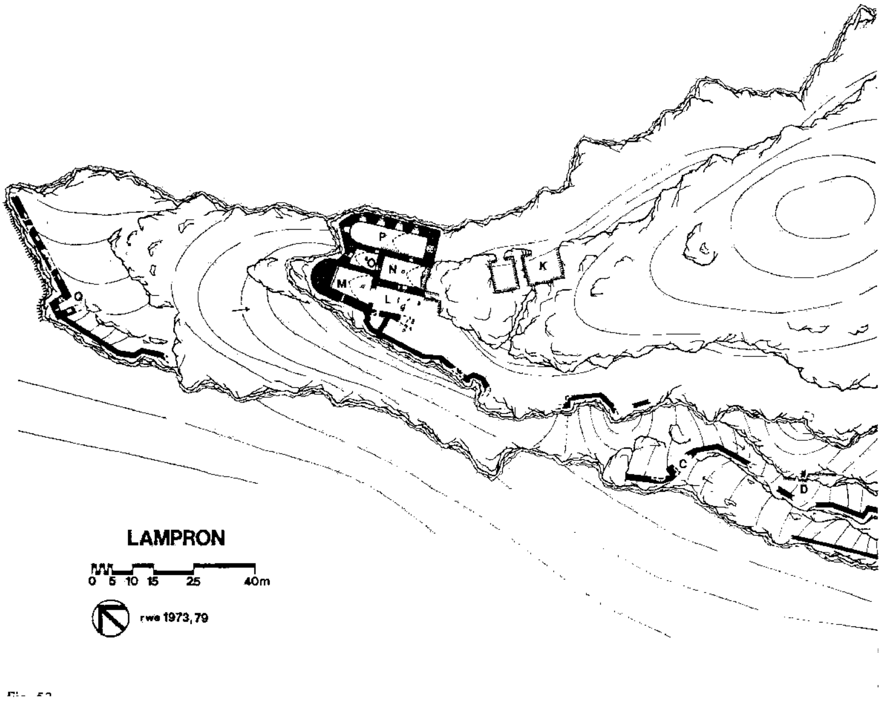
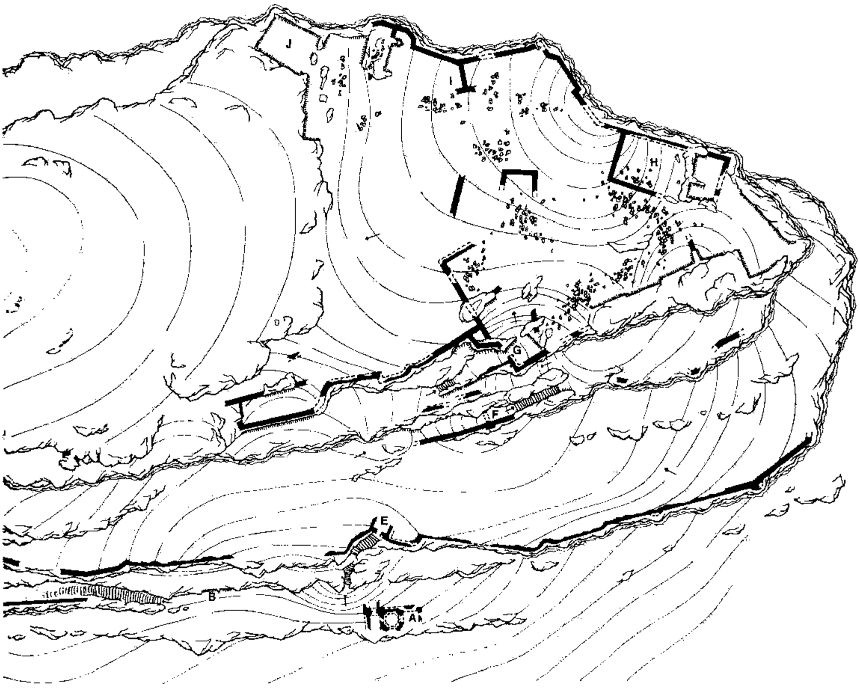


Fig. 1. Outline of Lampron (Lambron)


J
I
H
G
F
E
B
A

gave the castle to his mother for her summer residence.[59]

Later, Lampron became the center of one of the serious revolts by an Armenian baron against a Cilician king. In the early 1230s the baron of Lampron, Constantine, made an alliance with the Sultan of Konya, Kaykubad. In 1245 the former joined Kayhusraw II and fought against King Hetum I; they held Tarsus until the baron of Paperon (Çandır), the Constable Smbat, drove them out of Cilicia. Constantine was executed in 1250 for his high treason.[60] Lampron Kalesi is seldom referred to after the death of Constantine. In 1309/10 it functioned briefly as the prison for the Lusignan King of Cyprus, Henry II.[61] Sometime in the late fourteenth century a Mamluk garrison occupied the outcrop.[62] In the second half of the twelfth century the nearby monastery of Skevra was the home of St. Nerses of Lampron and the largest library in medieval Cilicia. Toros Roslin and other great miniature painters received frequent commissions from the court of Lampron. What survives today of this dynastic castle is only a faint testimony to its past greatness.[63]

The outcrop on which Lampron Kalesi is built has an elongated, somewhat bulbous shape (Fig. 1). The entire east flank is protected by sheer cliffs that vary in height from 30 to 40 meters The foundation of walls at the southeast end of the summit (H through I)[64] was not part of a protective circuit but simply the surviving traces of buildings. At the extreme northwest end below outwork Q a dry moat has been scarped to sever the fortress from the rest of the outcrop (cf. Bodrum and Anavarza).[65] The moat (not fully visible on the plan) is somewhat trapezoidal in shape in that its north and south sides are splayed, so that the open west end is about 10 meters wider than the east. The west flank of the outcrop from the edge of the moat to the southern tip consists of a series of narrow ascending terraces. For the most part the walls of the terraces consist of the natural vertical cliffs that vary in height from 3 to 10 meters. Occasional breaks and clefts in the terraces allow for passage from a lower to a higher level. Except for the area between E and F, the shelves on the tops of the terraces are usually inclined, giving the appearance of a series of natural taluses. When ascending the outcrop, one does not have the feeling that the terraces are neatly defined wards, but more a complex entrance system built on a scale far larger than those seen at Vahga and Chandır. The defenders of Lampron could always outflank an enemy simply by ascending to a higher level. Unfortunately the masoned walls flanking the edges of the terraces have survived only to their foundations, and the extent to which they were lined with embrasured loopholes or battlements cannot be determined. The only evidence of such openings is at outwork Q. From Q to the southern tip of the outcrop is a distance of 420 meters; at its widest point (from A to J) the distance across Lampron Kale is 150 meters.

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[59] Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 85; Smbat, *RHC, DocArm*; Smbat, *La chronique*, Dédéyan, p. 50n20; Nerses Akinian, "Hetum Hełi, Ter Lambroni," *Handes amsorya* 59 (1955): 397ff. A genealogy of the lords of Lampron can be found in Cyrille Toumanoff, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucasie chrétienne: Arménie, Géorgie, Albanie* (Rome: Edizioni Aquila, 1976), pp. 276ff, and C. Christomanos "Feudal-Organisation des Königreiches Klein-Armenien," *Jahrbuch der kaiserlichen heraldischen Gesellschaft Adler* (1890): 146. See also Edwards, *Fortifications*, Appendix 3.

[60] Kirakos of Gantzac (Kirakos Gandzaketsi), *Histoire de Arménie*, trans. Marie-Félicité Brosset (St. Petersburg: Eggers, 1870), pp. 142ff; Langlois, *Cartulaire*, p. 214; Simon of St. Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. and notes J. Richard (Paris, 1965), pp. 70n5, 71; Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* (1624; rpr. Graz, 1965), p. 1282.

[61] *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 2, p. 937; Mas Latrie, *Chroniques*, vol. 1, p. 325. Prior to this event the fortress was returned to royal control; see Smbat *RHC, DocArm*, Smbat, *La chronique*, Dédéyan, p. 112.

[62] In a colophon there is a brief mention of the sacking of Lampron in 1376; see Avedis Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 100. The Mamluks refer to this site as Tamrūn; see Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1923), p. 102.

[63] Robinson and Hughes, "Lampron," p. 188.

When approaching the outcrop from the relatively gentle slope at the southwest, the first medieval construction that comes into view is bathhouse A. The bathhouse is essentially a rectangular structure divided into three chambers. The central and south chambers are roughly equal in size, while the north chamber appears slightly smaller.[66] A fourth room (or perhaps a porch) may be attached to the east face of the north chamber. Unfortunately the advanced state of decay and heavy undergrowth obscure many of the details. The masonry of A is quite poor in quality, generally consisting of types III and IV.[67] On the interior the walls are stuccoed with a thick lime wash. Today the central room is covered with the substantial fragments of a cupola. The cupola actually rests on four adjoining arches that crown the slightly recessed walls. The arches are formed by a single course of relatively smooth ashlar. Pendentives rise from the resulting spandrels to make the transition from the square bay to the circular roof. It seems likely that a west door opened this room. Jagged holes in the north and south walls of the central room may once have been portals. Fragments of a pendentive in the collapsed south room show that it too was covered with a cupola. In both the central and south chambers terracotta pipes are visible in the thickness of the walls. These pipes brought hot steam from the subterranean hypocaust. When I surveyed the bathhouse in 1973 the entrance to the hypocaust was blocked, but fortunately Robinson and Hughes measured the three chambers that make up the subterranean level.[68] These chambers were connected by tunnels, and their low flat roofs were supported by closely placed pillars. In 1966 a well immediately east of the bathhouse supplied the site with water. By 1979 this well had completely dried up, leaving the spring at point B (40 meters north of bathhouse A) as the only source of water on the outcrop.

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[64] These and subsequent letters refer to designated points on the specified maps for each section.

[65] John Thomson (Fedden and Thomson, *Crusader Castles*, p. 38) claims the moat is of Byzantine origin, but there is no evidence to confirm this.

Although building A is constructed with rather crude masonry and is the only known bathhouse in a Cilician fortification, it is quite probable that the Armenians are responsible for its construction. In the tenth or eleventh century an almost identical bathhouse was constructed at the fortress of Amberd in Armenia.[69] It too has three rooms that comprise a long rectangular building; the square bay of the central room and one adjoining room are each covered by a cupola. The other adjoining room was a smaller chamber that held a tub. The hypocaust below has an identical design to one at Lampron. Although the domes over the bathhouse at Amberd are supported by monolithic squinch-joints and the ashlar facing stones at Amberd are far superior in quality to the masonry at Lampron, the near identity of the designs clearly links the latter to Armenian construction.

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[66] Robinson and Hughes ("Lampron," p. 200, Fig. 8) show the north chamber as being substantially larger than the central room. Because of debris and extensive damage, my measurements of this chamber may be inaccurate.

[67] For detailed descriptions of the types of masonry found in Cilicia, see Edwards, *Fortifications*, pp. 18-24, 278, Appendix 2. Type III "consists of small, often poorly cut rectangular and square stones whose intricacies are filled with an abundance of rock chips and mortar" (p. 22); "the stones of type IV are generally cut with more precision [than in type III], having a very symmetrical appearance. . ." (p. 22).

[68] Robinson and Hughes, "Lampron," pp. 200ff.

Just north of bathhouse A are two sets of stairs that lead to two separate entrances (C and E) into an upper terrace. Because of damage, it cannot be determined which was a postern and which was the principal entrance. Over the past century the coursed masonry on the outcrop has been removed and recycled into the constructions of Namrun village. This persistent plundering of the masonry has left today only scant traces of the circuit walls along the west terraces. Unfortunately the nineteenth-century travelers who found a large number of preserved structures on Lampron's outcrop did not properly document their discoveries.[70] The reader should be aware that it is now impossible to determine the sequence of construction or the location of the principal defenses from the fragmentary remains. The steps north of B lead along a narrow terrace-corridor until they reach the shattered remains of gate C.[71] The masonry both above and below the terrace corridor consists of various qualities of type IV. In some areas many of the blocks are more elongated than usual, and their margins have an unusually high number of rock chips. At gate C the approaching party can turn either south to perhaps the remains of another gate at point D or continue north along the shelf to the sloping platform that is situated below apartments L-P and above outwork Q.

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[69] *Amberd*, Documenti di Architettura Armena, V (Milan, 1978), pp. 9ff, 28, 31, 45. This plan also has parallels in Hellenistic and early Roman bath construction; see A. Farrington, "Roman Imperial Lycian Bath Buildings," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, II (Izmir, 1984), pp. 120-22.

[70] Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 89ff; Langlois, *Voyage*, pp. 360ff; Langlois, "Lampron," pp. 119ff.

[71] The elaborate gate and flanking tower that Robinson and Hughes ("Lampron," p. 193) described in 1966 at point C had vanished by the time I conducted my survey in 1973 and again in 1979.

Outwork Q essentially consists of an unvaulted square tower and a flanking wall on each side. Q follows the edge of the south wall of the moat and seems to be the result of at least two periods of construction and/or repair. Most of the facing consists of a very regular type III that occasionally has courses of stone like type IV. The circuit wall, which runs south from the square tower and survives only to its foundations, has no traces of loopholes. To the north of the tower, parts of the adjoining circuit stand to almost 2 meters in J height. The remains of at least five shattered embrasured loopholes are visible today. In the square tower there are two embrasured loopholes and what was J probably a door at the south.

On the route to the south through gate D, the path ascends to another flight of stairs at gate F, which is also the most immediate objective of those passing through gate E. The ascent to gate E from bathhouse A is much more steep than the path to gate C. Today the masoned steps below have greatly deteriorated, but the revetment wall supporting those steps is still visible. The jambs of the gate are extant only at the foundation level. I saw no evidence of holes to accommodate a crossbar bolt. Immediately south of gate E the wall projects outward as if it was once the foundation of a tower. The masonry of the gate, like other parts of the surrounding terrace wall, is a well-coursed type IV that has a number of elongated blocks. About 2.5 meters south of the jambs of E there is a shallow facet on the exterior facing. The point of the facet consists of quoins of relatively smooth ashlar. This use of ashlar with a well-executed type IV is reminiscent of Byzantine construction. The probability that this gate, as well as other sections of the west terrace wall, is from the Byzantine period of occupation is strengthened by the presence of a Greek inscription at gate E.[72] South of E there is evidence of small shallow salients along the circuit.

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[72] Because of the thick shrubbery and hanging vines I was not able to locate the

From E the entire length of the ascending gate-corridor F is visible. The east flank of F consists simply of the natural vertical cliffs that have been scarped only at the lower level. The west flank is a wall of well-coursed type IV masonry with elongated blocks. Below and west of the masoned wall are what appear to be a series of shelves. Actually these are the steps that result from the quarrying of the limestone outcrop. Above the north half of the corridor, six square holes have been cut into the cliff. Four of the holes are especially deep (shown on the plan), and two are rather shallow. These holes probably supported a wooden canopy over the corridor. If a stone vault were constructed, we should expect to see a continuous shelf in the cliff; such a shelf would anchor the springing of the vault. Today there is no evidence of a tower at either the north or south end of corridor F. At the extreme north end of F there is evidence of a jamb scarped in the cliff (not shown on the plan). A series of small joist holes above and to the north of the jamb probably supported some sort of wooden building that either fronted the north door of F or was incorporated into it. Almost midway in corridor F are the fragments of what may be another jamb or perhaps the springing of an arch. The southern third of the corridor has the remains of a series of partially scarped and partially masoned steps. The terrace immediately south of the steps is somewhat broad and shows traces of a circuit wall.

At the south end of corridor F a hairpin turn leads the approaching party to the final and most complex gate at G (Plate 1). Preceding G are the faint traces of partially scarped steps. G is actually a bent entrance, most of which has been scarped out of the natural rock. The west wall and the north-west corner of G show the only traces of what is probably Armenian con-

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inscription. Fortunately it is transcribed by Robinson and Hughes ("Lampron," p. 192). It is impossible to determine if the poorer quality types III and IV masonries of the west terraces are Byzantine in origin. The square tower of Q may be Byzantine or even belong to the Mamluk period. Except for gate G, the lower terrace walls do not appear to be Armenian in origin (cf. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, p. 235).

struction in the entrance. This Armenian contribution is slightly unusual for two reasons. The corner is not rounded, and the lower half of the wall consists not of type VII, like the upper half, but of a superbly dressed type VIII with extremely narrow margins.[73] The type VII has extremely broad margins, and the rusticated face is thinner than usual. My examination of the core showed that the two types of masonry are from the same building period. Just why the different stones do occur and the reasons for a single corbel in the center of the northwest wall are unknown. The salient corner at the northwest would not present any disadvantages, since an enemy cannot effectively use a ram against it in the narrow corridor below, and since the party approaching the outer door of G is substantially above the salient corner. The foundation of a wall extending from the north face of G indicates that a narrow corridor preceded the door. Joist holes outside the gate on the scarped face at the east show that some sort of room fronted the outer door of G. Above this scarpment there is a curious combination of masoned stones that do not fit any of the nine masonry types for Cilicia.[74] The stones in the lower half con- sist of a smooth, relatively well-cut ashlar that is poorly joined in its courses by rock chips and mortar. The upper half is a mixture of crude fieldstones, mortar, and rough ashlar. I could not determine the number of building periods that are involved in the construction of this wall. In the outer door of G, only the scarped jamb at the east is visible today (Plate 2). There appears to be provision for a crossbar bolt. If this bent entrance was once covered by a vault, there is no evidence of it now. Except for the west wall and the northwest corner, all the walls of G are scarped.

After passing through the east door of G, the approaching party enters the summit. The summit, which extends from M at the north to the scarped area south of H, is actually divided into three parts (Fig. 1). The southern third consists of a sloping, somewhat undulating platform that is covered with a large complex of buildings. The largest part in the center is an elevated, almost triangular hill that today shows hardly any evidence of construction. At the north is a V-shaped terrace that has the rooms L-P at its apex; the sides of this terrace flank the triangular hill.

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[73] Masonry type VII "consists of well-cut rectangular blocks that have a projecting boss on the outer face"; Type VIII "has blocks that have a smooth squared face on the exterior and are tapered on the interior." Edwards, *Fortifications*, p. 23.

[74] See ibid., Part I.3.

It appears that most of the southern third of the summit was covered with buildings of stone and wood. Southeast of G a vertical face has been carved in the rock for a length of 60 meters A horizontal chase and a myriad of square joist holes, which once supported adjoining wooden buildings, run along the length of the scarpment. The largest chamber in the fortress is the now collapsed rectangular structure H. There is extensive evidence of scarpment and masonry north and northwest of H. At point I the masoned walls stand to over 2 meters in height. The facing stones consist of a rather small, but well-executed, type IX masonry.[75] Unlike the larger type IX used in apartments L-P, the core of the wall at point I is layered in a neat diagonal pattern at each course level.[76] North of I are the massive scarped walls of chamber J. Sections of this room measure over 3 meters in height. Hundreds of tons of coursed rubble are strewn about the lower third of the summit. The original number of structures was obviously far greater than the few traces that are visible today. No remnant of a cistern has yet been found on the summit.

The only vaulted buildings on the summit are the apartments at the extreme north. The other evidence of construction at this end are the two huge scarped rooms at point K. The walls of both chambers are 3.2 meters in height. Today four of the apartments (M-P) survive with their slightly pointed vaults intact. The foundation of a fifth apartment (L) is still visible (Plate 3). Springing stones on the west wall of N indicate that L was vaulted. The five pointed vaults of the apartments are covered by a single flat roof.

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[75] Type IX masonry "consists of perfectly coursed rectangular and square stones whose sharp exterior edges and flat faces form extremely tight margins where almost no traces of mortar are visible." Edwards, *Fortifications*, p. 23.

[76] Cf. the oratory of the church of Toros I at Anavarza; see Edwards, "Second Report," pp. 128ff.

The masonry used throughout these apartments is a large, handsome, and very consistent type IX. The only unique feature of the masonry is that the core is double the normal thickness and consists of roughly coursed fieldstones placed in crude horizontal layers. This masonry is used for the interior and exterior facing. Type IX is never used as the exterior facing stone for the circuit wall of an Armenian fort. The elevation and inaccessibility of the summit here removes the apartments and the area of type IX from the possibility of attack.

There may have been a psychological reason for using the very expensive smooth ashlar. In Greater Armenia and in the rest of Cilicia type IX is the facing stone associated with churches. The smooth ashlar is extremely rare in the fortifications of Greater Armenia; the most famous example is in the city circuit of the Bagratid capital of Ani. These walls were constructed by King Smbat II in the late tenth century and were designed to display the wealth and power of the Bagratid dynasty.[77] Perhaps the Hetumids also wanted to make a statement about their newly established authority. In Cilicia Pedias this is exactly what Toros I did when he captured Anavarza in the first decade of the twelfth century. There he constructed a very visible church of type IX masonry, and the dedicatory inscription on that building lists the names of his great ancestors. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions or textual references that tell us with certainty when the Hetumids built these apartments.[78] Perhaps it is more than coincidental that smooth ashlar (type IX) is used extensively at Çandır (Paperon), another site that is associated with the Hetumids.[79] Like Lampron, the smooth ashlar appears at Çandır as a facing stone in areas of the castle that are not exposed to siege. It should be noted that there are resemblances between the Armenian mason's marks Çandır and Lampron.[80] We do not have enough examples of

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[77] Ara Berkian, *Armenischer Wehrbau im Mittelalter*, Ph.D. diss. Darmstadt, 1976, pp. 110ff.

[78] Robinson and Hughes ("Lampron," p. 202) speculate on the dates of the apartments. See my comments on their conclusions in Edwards, *Fortifications*, Part I.6.

[79] See also Kız (near Gösne) in Edwards, "First Report," pp. 172 ff, and "Second Report," pp. 144ff.

[80] Robinson and Hughes, "Lampron," pp. 203-05. Appendix 1 in Edwards, *Forti-*

Hetumid construction to conclude that the extensive use of type IX on the secular structures is a Hetumid trademark in Cilicia. Just a few kilometers north of Lampron and *certainly* within the confines of Lampron's fief is Sinap Kalesi; here the builders used type VII extensively as an exterior facing stone.

North of the few surviving foundation stones of room L there is the trapezoidal chamber M (Plate 3). The only door opening into this room was in the now collapsed south wall. The only window is a high-placed shaft in the west wall. There is evidence of a single hatch in the south half of the vault. A curious step (podium) in the north wall has no apparent function. On the exterior the rounded north face is decorated with three heraldic symbols. I could not get close enough to make out the details of their designs. Fortunately Robinson and Hughes made sketches of them.[81] The only other evidence of a heraldic shield on an Armenian fort in Cilicia is at Fındıklı.

There are three doors with jambs opening into the centrally placed room N. The largest of the three portals is in the west wall. This door is flanked at the north by a high-placed porthole-window. This is the only window in N, and its function is a mystery.[82] Like M and O, the vault over N has a single hatch. The south end of the vault is broken at the point where it rises from the scarped south wall. In comparing the cross section of the vaults over M and N, two features become apparent. The ashlar in the vault over M is 50 percent smaller than the stones in the covering over N. Also, the cores in the walls of N, O, and P are not as neatly layered, nor do they have the abundance of mortar when compared to M.[83] It is quite possible that the vault over N extended south over the flat rock mass that forms the south wall of room N. The scarpment atop the rock, which once accommodated the springing, seems to extend for at least 3 meters Except for the collapsed south end of the vault and a

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fications, contains a selection of mason's marks from Çandır as well as a few from Lampron that are not included in the list of Robinson and Hughes.

[81] Robinson and Hughes, "Lampron," p. 198.

[82] Ibid., pp. 198ff; Emmanuel G. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII^{me} et XIII^{me} siècles* (Paris: A. Picard, 1883), p. 43.

[83] Cf. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, pp. 233-35.

partially broken jamb in the north door, room N is in an excellent state of preservation (Plate 4).

The north portal from N to O has pivot holes that once supported swinging doors. The small trapezoidal room O has three important features. Its only window in the north wall is a superbly cut embrasured loophole with casemate. Like a similar opening in the north wall of P, the embrasure is set askew in the casemate. While the masonry of the walls is identical to N and P, the fine ashlar was not carried into the vault. Unlike M, N, and P, the vault of O is built with crude rusticated blocks, fieldstones, and an abundance of mortar. It is quite possible that the original vault over O collapsed and that the present covering is the result of a reconstruction. The third significant element of room O are the well-preserved jambs of its east door. Here the rather thin jambs are carved as delicate extensions from the final series of blocks that form the door. This identical corbeling technique is used at the other Hetumid site of Çandır. This is the normal Armenian method for constructing jambs, except that at other sites they are substantially thicker and the arch above them is usually depressed. The delicate, almost pointed arch above the jambs at Lampron and Çandır may be a Hetumid characteristic. The same technique is used on most of the doors of the apartments at Lampron Kalesi.

P is an elongated apsidal hall in an excellent state of preservation. Only at the south end have some of the exterior facing stones fallen away from the door and the embrasured window above it. Also, the east half of the south wall seems to have settled slightly over the years and has separated from the vault. The south half of the west wall of P has a foundation that is scarped from the natural rock. The scarped section is almost 2 meters in height. The four windows in the west wall are designed only to let in light. There are holes in the jambs of the windows to anchor iron crossbars. In keeping with Armenian traditions, the vaulted casemates of the windows are slightly pointed and segmented into regular voussoirs of fine ashlar, while the lintels over the jambs are monolithic blocks. In two of the window-casemates, there are fragments of stone benches. The most interesting feature in P is the construction of the vault at the rounded north end. It is built exactly like the apsidal vaults in Armenian chapels with stones that radiate around a thin oblong core (Plate 5).[84] The only modem contribution to P is the abundance of spray-painted graffiti on the interior of the apartments.

It is clear that the masoned walls of the fortress represent many periods of construction, with the principal buildings appearing to be Byzantine and Armenian. Because of damage to this unexcavated site and a lack of any historical references to construction, it is impossible to date the architecture accurately.[85]

Saimbeyli/Hajin

At an altitude of 1,300 meters, the village of Saimbeyli[86] (Armenian: Hajin) straddles the strategic road that links Peke to Kayseri and the Cappadocian plain.[87] Saimbeyli is built along the slopes of two adjoining valleys (Plate 6). A natural spur of rock provides a majestic foundation for the fort which is located at the extreme southern end of the outcrop. This V-shaped spur is at the junction of two major tributaries. The Obruk Çay (Chay), which cuts the route for the north-south road, is on the west flank of the fort. Today most of the modem village of Saimbeyli overlooks the Obruk Çay. From the east the Kirkot Çay flows through a steep valley and merges with the Obruk Çay directly south of the fortified outcrop (Plate 6). Before 1920 the valley of the Kirkot Çay held a substantial portion of the Armenian settlement.[88]

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[84] Edwards, "Second Report," p. 130.

[85] Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, p. 235.

[86] The plan of this hitherto unsurveyed site was executed in July 1981. The few contour lines on the relatively flat outcrop are at intervals of 75 centimeters. Only the upper levels of towers A and B are represented on the plan; the rest of the fort is represented at ground level.

[87] Texier, *Asie Mineure*, pp. 583ff; Hogarth and Munro, *Modern and Ancient Roads*, pp. 657ff; Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem*, pp. 127ff, maps 11 and 14, pls. 98-99; Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 62ff; Schaffer, "Cilicia," pp. 90ff; Sterrett, p. 239 and map 2. Saimbeyli appears on the following maps: *Central Cilicia, Cilicie, Everek, Maraş*, in Edwards, *Fortifications*. See also *Handbook*, pp. 69, 91, 343, 337-82, 703; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, pp. 94ff; Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Die Frankengeschichte*, p. 44 and notes 78 and 79.

Although Hajin/Saimbeyli is mentioned frequently in studies on Armenian Cilicia and is the subject of an 857-page monograph, we have no documented information on the foundation of the medieval fort or the nearby monastery of St. James.[89] Because of its isolation, Hajin did not play a prominent role in the politics of the Armenian kingdom. The fortification and garrison were placed here because of the proximity to a major road. After the fall of the Armenian kingdom, the importance and size of Hajin increased dramatically. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Armenian population numbered over twelve thousand.[90] Aside from the monastery of St. James, which is at the far northwest end of Saimbeyli, fragments of the Armenian settlement can be seen in the Kirkot valley and along the top of the outcrop.

There is a relatively easy approach to the fort at the southwest end of the outcrop. The trail zigzags past the south wall of a two-story brick and concrete structure, which was dedicated in 1912, and turns to the north. Because the height of the natural cliff diminishes at the northwest end of the fort, the medieval masons scarped a vertical face to continue the rock barrier and limit the line of access. The modern trail follows the base of the cliff and abruptly ascends to the terrace northwest of towers A and B (Fig. 2, Plate 7).

The masonry of Saimbeyli Kalesi is entirely in keeping with the architectural traditions of Armenian Cilicia. The vast majority of the exterior facing stones consist of type VII masonry.

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[88] Hakob Poghosian, *Hacheni endhanur patmutiune ev shrjakay Gozan-taghi hay giughere* (Los Angeles: Bozart Press, 1942), pp. 106ff, 122ff; Hovhannesian, *Kilikian berder*, pp. 179-82; Aghassi, *Zeïtoun*, trans. Arshak Chopanian (Paris: Éd. du Mercure de France, 1897), pp. 97-101.

[89] Ibid.; Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 174-77; E. King, "A Journey through Armenian Cilicia," *Asian Affairs* 24 (1937): 24ff. For a discussion of the monastery of St. James (S. Hakob), see Edwards, "Second Report," pp. 125ff. Concerning the medieval name for this site, see Edwards, *Fortifications*, Appendix 3, note 6. Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, pp. 281, 291, 312, believes it to be the late antique Badimon.

[90] The Armenian community here and in Sis occasionally prospered as a result of alliances with the local *derebeys*. See A. Gould, "Lords or Bandits? The Derebeys of Cilicia," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7 (1976): 485-506; cf. Sanjian, *Colophons*, pp. 233ff.

In some cases the consistently rusticated face of type V is evident.[91] It is also quite interesting that in some of the courses the margins of the type VII have been stuccoed with white mortar and studded with small dark stones. Such a technique normally occurs with the poorer quality rusticated stones of type VI masonry, where its wider margins give the exterior stucco a firm anchorage.[92] The attempt to stucco the relatively thin margins of the type VII may have been done for aesthetic effect.

On the interior of the fort there are a number of types of facing stones. At the extreme south in salient E type III facing stone is common; it occurs again along the west wall of F. Type IV is also present in room D. In the wall north of chapel C the interior facing improves decidedly, for in this area types V and VII seem to predominate. This is also true for the lower half of the north circuit (flanking A and B). But the upper half was refaced at a much later date (fifteenth century?).[93] This post-medieval masonry consists of recycled blocks and fieldstones bound in a thick matrix of mortar and covered with plaster. This crude masonry is also anchored by horizontal wooden headers in the core. The square area marked as H on my plan stands today only to its foundation. What survives is an extremely crude masonry of fieldstones bound in irregular courses by rock chips and small traces of mortar. The walls of H, which probably are the foundation of a post-medieval church, have a poured core.

This fort consists of a high fortified circuit wall that cuts off and surrounds the tapering end of the spur (Fig. 2). There is no evidence of outworks or ditches preceding the north wall. This wall runs from one side of the cliff to the other. This barrier was joined at the east by a wall of equal height that extended from the tower-chapel C. The upper portion of this east

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[91] Type V masonry "consists of large rusticated blocks with neatly trimmed edges. . . . The intricacies are filled with occasional rock chips and mortar." Edwards, *Fortifications*, p. 22.

[92] Type VI masonry "is used as an exterior facing stone and at times for repair of structures. . . . In type VI the margins have been stuccoed with a broad band of mortar." Ibid., p. 23.

[93] Edwards, "Second Report," pp. 130ff.

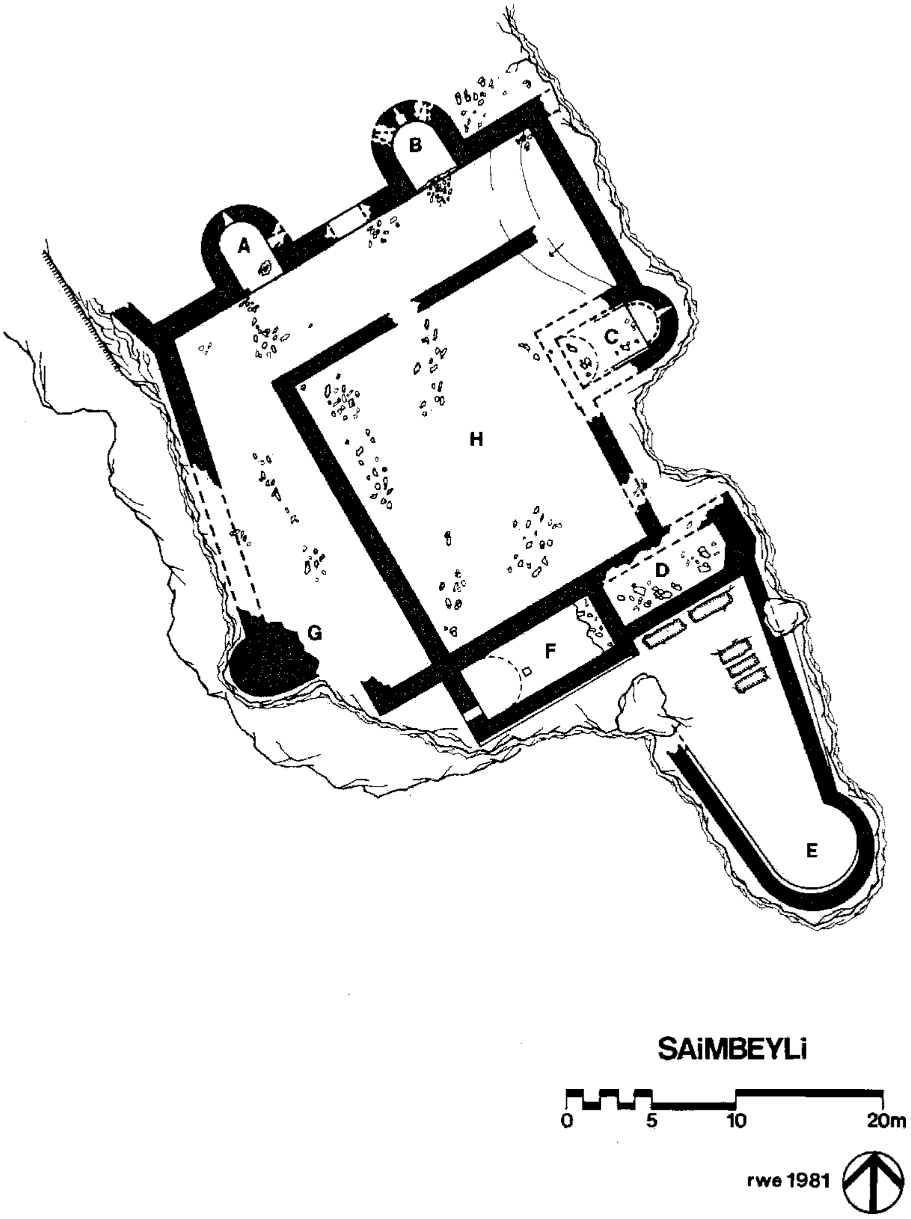

Fig. 2. Outline of Saimbeyli (Hajin)

wall has now collapsed. On the other side it appears that the original west wall, which connected with tower G, was only about 60 percent of the height of the north wall. At the northwest junction the upper section has been squared off, clearly showing the reduced height of the west wall. The west wall, like the one at the east, rises directly from the cliffs.

The north wall was opened by a single gate in the center that was flanked by two horseshoe-shaped towers (Plate 7). Today, in the area where the gate once stood, there is merely a large hole in the circuit. In the lower level of tower A (not shown on the plan) the wall is well preserved on the exterior, except for a puncture at the east. Only a section of the upper level of tower B still has facing stones in situ. Each tower has a single apsidal chamber at the first and second levels. In the lower level tower A was probably opened by a single door at the south. It is unlikely that the breach in the tower's east side held a postern or window. As in tower B, only the walls in the lower-level chamber of A have been stuccoed and painted. The same stucco was applied to the inner face of the north wall of H. The second level of tower A is opened by two embrasured loopholes. The one at the north is undamaged and has a small stirrup base. Because of damage to the upper level of A, only the inner side of the east embrasure is visible today.

The difficulty with the upper level of A, and likewise the same area in tower B, is to determine the means of access. In neither of the upper-level rooms is there evidence of a door at the south. In tower A only a small portion of the open south end (in the west corner) appears to have been walled. This fragment of wall, as well as the squared top of tower A, probably dates from the fifteenth century when this tower became the base of a square campanile. In medieval times ramparts probably topped both of the towers. Because the inner face of the north wall of the fort is so heavily reconstructed, we can only assume that a crenellated staircase once gave access to the ramparts and second level (cf. Yılan and Tamrut).[94] There is the possibility that wooden structures were built directly onto the interior of the north wall in medieval times. The presence of joist holes in the refaced areas indicates that wooden beams were used in the fifteenth century.

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[94] Ibid. The square campanile was part of the post-medieval church of the Holy Mother of God (Surb Astvatsatsin). Before its destruction by the Turks in 1915, it was heavily damaged on two prior occasions: first by a fire and later by an earth-

Tower B is quite similar to A at the lower level, except the former has a straight-sided window with a miniature casemate on the interior (this opening is depicted on the plan between the two upper-level embrasures). This opening could provide only a small amount of light and ventilation. Both of the embrasured loopholes in the upper level of B are damaged. At the south end of the second level the masonry in the vault consists of long crude slabs laid radially. Toward the north end of this room the apsidal ceiling is constructed with a large type V masonry. This is quite different from the masonry in the upper level of tower A, where more crude stones in a thick matrix of mortar are common at the north. This difference in masonry types is certainly due to several periods of construction.

What is left of chapel C conforms to the design characteristics of Armenian ecclesiastical architecture in Cilicia.[95]

South of the chapel there are two adjoining rectangular chambers. Only the foundation of room D is visible today; its function is unknown. Directly to the west is the vaulted cistern F. Except for a small section at the east, the vault is well preserved. It is stuccoed like the interior walls and is opened by a single square hatch. The only other evidence of an opening in the cistern is a small round-headed window at the top of the west wall. Although much of the masonry of cistern F is fairly crude, the exterior of its west end is constructed with type VII masonry, since it extends into the space of what should be the circuit. At the far south, a fingerlike projection of rock is surrounded by a single wall, forming the rounded bastion E. The function of a thin ledge on the interior of the circuit is unknown. At the north end of E and just south of room D are the remains of some scarped graves. These tombs probably date to

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quake. For information on this and other Armenian churches in Saimbeyli, see note 84 above; Oskian, *Kilikiayi vankere*; Grigor Galustian, *Marash* (New York: Compatriotic Union of Marash, 1934).

[95] Edwards, "Second Report," pp. 130ff.

the fifteenth century, when the fort was converted into a cloister.

Tower G, which is badly damaged today, appears to have been a solid bastion. Only a few fragments of the circuit connecting G to the north wall are visible today.

Sis

At that point where the strategic road from Saimbeyli and Feke abruptly descends into the eastern lobe of the Cilician plain, the magnificent fortress-outcrop of Sis rises as a final barrier.[96] This castle has inter-visibility with Andıl, Anavarza, and Tumlu. From Byzantine times the unfortified town of Sis has always been located below the east flank of the outcrop where mountain streams provide a constant source of water (Plate 11).[97] Today the Turks call the modern city Kozan but still refer to the castle as Sis.[98] Since this site served as the capital of Armenian Cilicia and was the seat of the Armenian Catholicos, it has attracted numerous visitors and has been the subject of many commentaries and histories.[99] In this discussion

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[96] The castle at Sis had never been the subject of an accurate instrument survey prior to my own work at this site in summer 1973. The survey was completed after visits in August 1979 and July 1981. The interval of distance of the contour lines on the plan is approximately one meter.

[97] Sis or Kozan appears on the following maps: *Central Cilicia, Cilicie, Kozan, Maraş, Malatya*, in Edwards, *Fortifications*.

[98] In Armenian and Syriac chronicles this site is simply called Sis. The name is derived from the Byzantine Sisin or Sision kastron. The Arabs refer to this settlement as Sīs, Hisn, Sīsiya, and Sīsa. The Franks call the Armenian capital Assisum, Assis, Sis, and Sisa.

[99] V. Büchner, "Sis," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, pp. 453-55; idem, "Sis," *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, pp. 708-12; Langlois, *Voyage*, pp. 382ff; idem, "Voyage a Sis," *JA* 4 (1855): 263-73; Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 241ff; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 583; Ritter, pp. 67-96, 597, 621ff; Schaffer, "Cilicia," pp. 44, 89; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, pp. 90-92; Favre and Mandrot, "Voyage en Cilicie," pp. 116ff; *Handbook*, pp. 724ff; Ernst Lohmann, *Im Kloster zu Sis* (Striegau: Verlag von Reinhold Urban, 1905), pp. 2ff; Misak Keleshian *Sis-Matian* (Beirut, 1949), pp. 226ff; Müller-Wiener, *Castles*, p. 77; Fedden and Thomson, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 97-100; Mikaelian, *Istoriia*, pp. 428ff; Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, pp. 202-13; Rüdt-Collenberg, *Rupenides*, pp. 21ff; William B. Barker, *The Birthland of St. Paul. Cilicia: Its Former History and Present State*, ed. William Ainsworth (London, Glasgow: Griffin, 1855), opposite p. i, 111; *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* [Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia], 12 vols. (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1974-86), s.v. "Sis," pp.

I will be concerned only with the castle of Sis.[100] I will preface my remarks on the architecture with a brief historical introduction that is derived from both primary and secondary sources.

Prior to the Byzantine period there is no record of a fortification at this site. Between September 704 and August 705 the small Greek settlement at Sis successfully repulsed an Arab attack with the help of the emperor's brother Heraclius, whose army supposedly killed twelve thousand Arabs.[101] Some years later its Christian population was forced to abandon the town. In the early ninth century Sis became part of the fortified frontier for the Abbasids, who planted a small colony on the site; the Caliph al-Mutawakkil reconstructed its Byzantine defenses in the mid-ninth century. Unfortunately we have few specific Arab references to Sis. The fortress must have been of some importance since the Byzantine army of Nicephorus Phocas captured it early in 962.[102] For the next hundred and fifty years the history of Sis lies in obscurity. In 1113 the Rubenid Baron Toros I captured the town, which also experienced a devastating earthquake in the following year.[103] Emperor John II Comnenus seized it in 1137. At some period before

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398ff.; Mas Latrie, *Chroniques*, p. 89; Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 538; idem, *Caliphate*, p. 141; Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri*, pp. 216-23; *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger (1396-1427)*, trans. Karl F. Neumann and Buchan Telfer (rpr. New York: B. Franklin, 1970), pp. 86ff, 126, 235; Sanjian, *Colophons*, p. 55; Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Balādhurī, *Kitâb futûh al-buldân*, vol. 1, trans. Philip Khuri Hitti (New York: Columbia University, 1916), pp. 262ff; Hamd-allāh Mustawfi, *Nuzhat-al-qulūb*, trans. G. Le Strange (Leiden: E.J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1919), p. 258; Ernst Honigmann, *Le couvent de Barṣaumā et le patriarcat jacobite d'Antioche et de Syrie*, CSCO 146, Subsidia 7 (Louvain: Durbecq, 1954), pp. 45, 51, 68, 74, 167, 174ff; Wilbrand von Oldenburg, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 18-20; Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *Histoire de Arménie*, Brosset, p. 93.

[100] The compound of the patriarchs in the lower terrace is described in Edwards, "First Report," pp. 168-70, and "Second Report," pp. 134ff. For information on the churches in and around Sis see also Babgen Kiuleserian, *Patmutiun Katoghikosats Kilikio* (Antilias: Catholicosate of Cilicia Press, 1939); note 93 above; Oskian, *Kilikiayi vankere*; Eprikian, *Patkerazard bnashkharhik bararan*, vol. 1, p. 500.

[101] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Karl de Boor (Leipzig, 1883; rpr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963), vol. 1, p. 372.

[102] Canard, *Sayf al Daula*, pp. 141, 299.

[103] Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *Histoire de Arménie*, Brosset, p. 57; Matthew of Edessa, *RHC, DocArm*, p. 112.

1172 the Armenians re-occupied Sis and began construction at the site. The usurper Mleh is said to have been assassinated there in 1174.[104] As early as 1177 Sis is referred to in one chronicle as the royal residence.[105] However, ten years later an inscription on the reconstructed donjon of Anavarza describes Anazarbus as the "mother of cities." For military (and consequently political) reasons, the proximity of Sis to the mountains made it a more attractive administrative center; it began to rival Anavarza by the late 1170s as the principal site of Rubenid Cilicia. There is probably no precise date for the official transfer of "the capital" to Sis from Anavarza, but it certainly occurred between 1180 and the 1190s.[106]

During the reigns of King Levon I and his eventual successor, Hetum I, much ecclesiastical and military construction was undertaken. Unfortunately the only dedicatory inscription still in situ in the castle is a badly mutilated epigraph on tower M. One can still make out "of the Armenians" and what may be the name "Hetum."[107] Since Hetum had a reputation as a builder, it is quite possible that he is responsible for enlarging the castle. His wife, Zapel, is credited with building a hospital there in 1241.[108]

The history of Sis becomes a repetitive account of Mamluk raids from 1266 to 1375. On ten separate occasions the Armenian capital or its immediate environs was successfully sacked by the Egyptians and their allies.[109] In 1348 this misery was compounded by the arrival of the bubonic plague from Europe. The last Armenian king, Levon V, was betrayed and captured in the citadel. Although Sis was the seat of the Armenian patriarchs from 1292 to 1873, the catholicos resided there permanently only from the seventeenth century.[110] A monastery for the patriarchs was not founded until 1734.

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[104] Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, trans. Jean Baptiste Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899-1924), vol. 3, p. 361; Smbat *RHC, DocArm*, p. 625; Smbat, *La chronique*, Dédéyan, p. 55n36.

[105] Nerses of Lampron (*RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 578) complains that this "metropolis" is without a bishop and suitable churches. Cf. *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 301, where the Catholicos Grigor IV uses "Sisvan" as a collective term to identify Rubenid territory before 1189.

[106] Wilbrand von Oldenburg (*Peregrinatio*, pp. 18-20) finds a complete and well-established capital in 1212.

[107] Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 247; Langlois, *Inscriptions*, pp. 17ff; idem, *Rapport*, pp. 41ff.

[108] Alishan, *Léon*, p. 364.

[109] Sanjian, *Colophons*, pp. 95, 99, 111, 294; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronology of Gregory Abūl Faraj*, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (London: Oxford University

If laid from end to end, the circuit walls of the castle at Sis would measure almost 3 kilometers in length (Fig. 3). These barriers carefully follow the irregularities of the cliffs for over 680 meters of the exceptionally long and impressive outcrop of limestone. Because of this adaptation the plan cannot easily be defined in terms of segmented baileys. For this discussion I will divide the castle into the following units. The most complex and amorphic is the central bailey that includes A-B and N-Y (Plate 8). This unit also has a tall central spur (T-V) and falls sharply at the east and west flanks where the outer circuit walls bow outward. The south-central bailey is a thin, neatly defined unit that is confined to a narrow spur and runs from gate I to tower M (Plate 12). The south-east bailey, which includes D-F, is positioned along the sharply falling slope beneath the level of the south-central bailey. The south bailey is set below tower M and includes G and H. The fifth and largest unit is the north bailey which runs from Y to Z. The easiest approach to the castle is at the southeast end of the outcrop (Plate 11), where the topography leads the approaching party directly to the vaulted entrance-corridor A (Plate 8).

The exterior masonry, as with many of the lower east walls,

Press, 1932), vol. 1, pp. 446, 453; Jean Dardel, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 2, pp. 32ff, 81-109; Vahram of Edessa, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 522; Smbat, *RHC, DocArm*; Smbat, *La chronique*, Dédéyan, pp. 118ff; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, pp. 19, 85, 87, 97, 99ff, 217; Ahmad ibn Ali al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks, de l'Egypte*, trans. Etienne Quatremère, 2 vols. (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1837-42), vol. 1:2, p. 55, vol. 2:2, pp. 60ff, 116, 131ff, 146, 190, 196, 227ff, 249, 255, 279; Canard, "Le royaume," pp. 231, 238ff; Hovhannesian, *Kilikian berder*, pp. 49-62. In the fifteenth century Sis was a district in the Mamluk province of Aleppo; see William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian sultans, 1382-1468 A.D.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), p. 17.

[110] During the medieval period a monastery at Sis may have been a center for the production of manuscripts; see Sanjian, *Colophons*, p. 92. See also Hovhannesian, *Kilikian berder*, pp. 63-65.

consists of types V and VII. However, the type VII in A tends to be confined to the corners[111] and to the frames of windows and doors,[112] which is rather unusual in Armenian architecture. The northeast door of A is of extreme importance because it is topped by an Arab inscription. Approximately 40 percent of the epigraph survives; I was unable to transcribe or translate what remains. I could determine that its letters are identical to the *nashī* style of writing that was so common in Egypt during the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century. The careful integration of the epigraph into the northeast wall of A signifies that it can belong only to the permanent period of Mamluk occupation (after 1375).[113] The entire entrance-corridor is probably a Mamluk construction, considering that it has an exposed angle at the north and that the voussoirs of the four lower-level round-headed embrasured loopholes are small and numerous (Plate 10). These four loopholes in the east wall of A have a simple flat base, while the two embrasured openings with case-mates in tower B to the south have stirrup bases (Plates 8, 9). The rounded tops of both of the embrasures in B consist of neatly carved monoliths. The latter are usual in Armenian architecture, and the variance in styles is certainly due to different periods of construction. A further indication that A was added later to an existing circuit (Fig. 3) is the huge gap (with an intervening corbel) between the northwest wall of A and the circuit south of N. When the Mamluks built A they used Armenian masons to cut the facing stones; the addition of A to tower B created a sharp vertical junction (Plate 9). It is interesting that in the proximity of the northeast door of A, thin metal rods are embedded in the interstices of the types V and VII masonries, but the voussoirs and the few relatively smooth stones around the door do not have these rods. On the interior of the door at the east, there is a square hole to accommodate a cross-bar bolt (not shown on the plan). Just how this bolt was secured on the other

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[111] In the corners the type VII stones are only slightly larger than the rest of the facing.

[112] Some of these are actually a type IX with a bossed face (see Edwards, *Fortifications*, Part I.3).

[113] Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, p. 211.

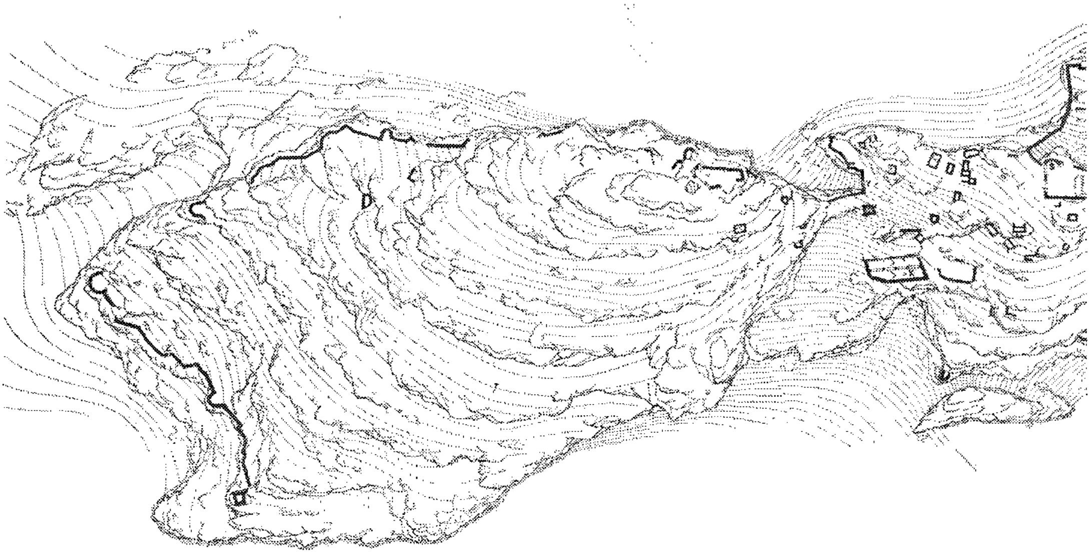
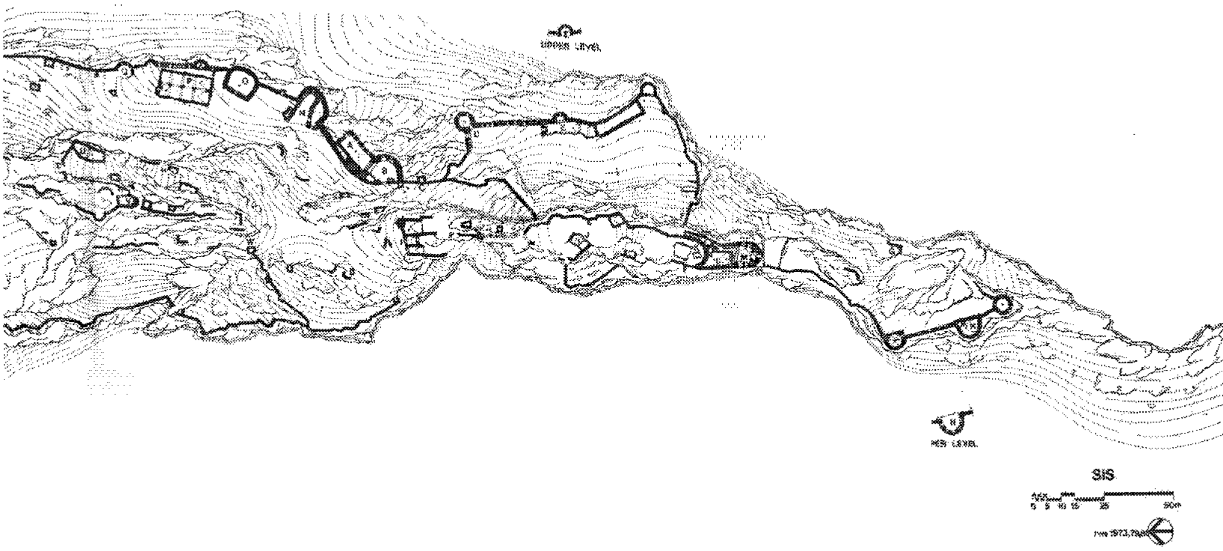


Fig. 3. Outline of Sis


UPPER LEVEL
LEVEL
SIS
5 5 10 15 25 50m
rwe 1973,79

side is not apparent today.

Once past the vaulted corridor and its southwest gate (which is bolted from the outside) there is a second gate of very simple design at the west end of B. This door and the adjoining wall are constructed with type IV masonry. This opening may be part of the original Byzantine entrance at Sis. The foundations of the circuit wall to the south of B (including the square salient C) are built with an identical type of masonry (Plate 12). Unlike the other types of masonries, the mortar of this type IV has numerous fragments of brick and tile. Another remnant of Byzantine construction may be in salient N. The original tower N with its two doors and ten windows are constructed with type IV masonry and later completely covered on the outside by a new salient-curtain of types V and VI masonries. This second phase of construction is certainly Armenian.

D, the major entrance into the southeast bailey, is constructed like the typical Armenian tripartite gate. What is unusual is that the slot machicolation was blocked at a later period with coursed stones. The pointed outer arch of gate D has alternating segmented voussoirs—a style seen at other Armenian castles (cf. Maran). Farther to the south the upper level of tower E has the shattered remains of a small Armenian chapel (Plate 11).[114] Except for the partially scarped undercroft E and the adjacent hall to the south, there is no evidence on the surface of other buildings in the southeast bailey.

The gate complex I is the only visible entrance into the south-central bailey. This complex has three units. At the far east is a vaulted chamber (preserved today) that has a round tower protruding from its north wall. This chamber probably functioned as a cistern. The tower is equipped with corbels and certainly provided flanking fire for the two doors at the west. In the center is a room that has only the springing of a round vaulted covering still standing. In the north wall of this room is a door that is limited by jambs and protected by a crossbar bolt. The arch over the jambs has collapsed. At the south end of the chamber is another door. On the west flank of complex I is a second gate at the north end. Traces of scarped rock in the corner of the door indicate that some sort of wooden portal was accommodated. The corridor behind the west door is covered by a pointed vault.

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[114] For a description of the chapel, see Edwards, "First Report," p. 170.

Once past this double gate a long series of scarped steps ascend the summit of the south-central bailey, passing the foundations of two square rooms at the east. Halfway between complex I and M is the barrel-vaulted cistern J, whose sides are scarped. From this area of the outcrop to the fosse south of M, the entire east flank is supported by a massive revetment wall. The two rooms on the interior of K are difficult to interpret because they are filled with debris. The present ground level covers the ceilings of K and L. On the east flank of K there is a stairway that descends to a vaulted opening and a blocked chamber. The mystery over the exact function of K intensifies when entering the vaulted room L via a stairway in its northeast corner (Plate 13). The stairs leading to L are covered by four monolithic lintels. The slightly pointed vault over L is well preserved and opened by two hatches. A straight wall of a rough type IX masonry marks the southern end of the room. However, at the north, not only is the rounded shape of the exterior wall of K visible, but it is constructed entirely out of type VII masonry. It may be that in an earlier period K was the most southern salient on the summit. Later, new buildings raised and extended the construction to the south. It is possible that the type VII masonry of K's wall was intended as an interior facing, though it would be very rare.[115] It seems likely that room L functioned as a cistern since its lateral walls are stuccoed. Undoubtedly the original east and west walls of M continued north for some distance, creating a second level over K and L. In the center of M there are fragments of a fallen vault and a protruding mass of rock (Plate 14). This natural rock has not been cut, and just why it is so perfectly preserved in the center of this finely constructed residential quarter is a complete mystery. On the interior of the south wall of M are the fragments of an Armenian epigraph.[116] Substantial portions of the exceptionally large and casemated windows of M are still visible. Directly south of tower M is a massive scarped fosse. Although the foundation of M has been squared off,[117] this is not in contradiction to the Armenian theory about exposed corners (as with corridor A), since the proximity of the cliffs and fosse makes it impossible to attack the base of M. There is no evidence that M was ever a donjon. Its north end may have been opened and completely accessible to gate I.

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[115] This does occur at Sis in the west wall of building M and at both Yılan and Çandır; in all three cases it is not used consistently as in K's wall.

[116] See Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 247; Langlois, *Inscriptions*, pp. 17ff.; idem, *Rapport,*

The south bailey is carefully defined by cliffs at the east and a circuit wall at the west and south. Of the three vaulted towers at the south, only H preserves five casemated embrasured loopholes at the upper level. The lower level of H, as with the tower to the north, may have functioned as a cistern. The extreme south tower is fitted with embrasures. The circuit connecting the three south towers has four embrasured loopholes with casemates.

The size and simplicity of the south bailey is in sharp contrast to the massive central bailey. Near the summit of the central bailey is the vaulted cistern U (Plate 15). Its plastered walls are carefully constructed; the shape of its central rib is reminiscent of the arch over the ground level of the estate house at Helen Keşlik (Keshlik). Not all the buildings in the area of U are so carefully constructed. To the southwest, chamber V (Plate 16) and the nearby walls are constructed with type III and IV masonries. Just who is responsible for the buildings in this area is difficult to determine. To the north is the complex S with its apsidal east corner. This apse was probably part of a chapel.[118] In this central bailey and to the north there are dozens of small square chambers that served as storage rooms and cisterns. Undoubtedly there were a large number of wooden buildings on the interior. The principal structures of the central bailey are along the east circuit (N through Q). The vaulted hall P, which is partially subterranean, is fully independent of the circuit wall. While it is uncertain whether P functioned as a cistern, it is clear that the small semicircular tower directly to the west was

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pp. 41ff.

[117] Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, Pls. 53a and 53b.

[118] See Edwards, "First Report," p. 170.

used for the storage of water. This area is the only point on the circuit where corbels are consistently employed. Between towers N and O there is a single and very unusual overhanging machicolation. Such features normally appear over an entrance.

At the north end of the central bailey, small posterns at R and Y provide access to the city below. The only notable construction at the north end of this ward is the large cistern X. A central arcade of three arches divides the cistern into an east and west half. The west half (Plate 17), which has a pointed vault opened by a single hatch, is almost entirely built with cut masonry. The east half, which is covered by a semi-vault, is scarped into a natural cleft. The tooling marks on the scarped rock are unusually deep and broad.

The huge north bailey is almost devoid of buildings. A modern watchtower (part of the military base in the lower terrace) is located near its southeast corner. At the far north a small postern gate is located at point Z.

Recently, there has been some speculation on the sequence of construction in this castle.[119] However, in the absence of excavation reports, inscriptions, and specific references in the texts, it is impossible to date any of the structures (with the possible exception of gate-corridor A and tower M) on the outcrop. Excluding A and the areas of B, N, and V, most of this fortress is Armenian in respect to its masonry and plan.

Vahga/Vahka

The castle at Vahga or Vahka was not only the earliest seat of Armenian power in east Cilicia, but it served as the base from which the Rubenids eventually united all of Cilicia under one king.[120] The site is located about 6 kilometers northeast of the modern village of Feke.[121] The latter, which is located immediately north of the junction of the Asmaca Çayı (Asmaja Chayi) and the Gök Su,[122] was built in the 1920s when the small population of Vahga Köy (at the base of the fortress) was transferred there. The fortress is of great strategic value because it hovers over the major north-south road that links Kozan to Kayseri. Vahga Kalesi has clear inter-visibility with Maran but not with Saimbeyli. Also, when weather conditions permit, a signal could be sent from Vahga to Andıl, which in turn could relay a message to Sis or Bostan (via Alafakılar). About 4 kilometers north of Vahga Kalesi a somewhat rough, but well-worn, trail leads southeast and eventually south to Bucak (Bujak) Kalesi.

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[119] Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, pp. 212ff.

[120] My survey of this site was conducted in spring 1974. On the plan contour lines are placed at intervals of 2 meters.

[121] Normally, I would transliterate the Armenian name for this site as "Vahka." The alternate spelling is kept here because the Turkish authorities employ "Vahga" (occasionally Vaga or Vaka). Vahga and/or Feke frequently appear on the maps of Cilicia: *Cilicie, Everek, Maraş*. On the *Everek* map Feke is not in its proper location

Vahga plays its most important role in Armenian history during the twelfth century. According to Hetum's chronology, Constantine, the son of Ruben, captured Vahga from its Byzantine owners between 1097 and 1098.[123] Constantine reigned for only two years before his untimely (but natural) death at the castle; he was buried in the nearby monastery of Kastałon.[124] In the year 1111, Baron Toros I is said to have stored in Vahga the booty from one of his raids in Cappadocia.[125] The major event in its history occurs in 1138 when the Byzantine emperor laid siege to the fort and its Armenian garrison.[126] Unlike

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at the junction of two rivers but is accidentally placed on the old site of Vahga. See also *Handbook*, p. 334. The Armenian name Vahka is probably a variant of the earlier Greek spelling Baka. Bar Hebraeus refers to the site as Bahgai.

[122] The Asmaca Çayı is itself formed by a variety of streams to the west of Feke, including the Yağnık Çayı (Yaghnik Chayi). Northeast of Peke the Çatak (Chatak) Suyu merges with the Gök Su. From Feke this united Gök Su flows south into the Seyhan.

[123] Het'um of Korykos, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 471; Vahram of Edessa (*RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 498) confirms the same event.

[124] Matthew of Edessa, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, pp. 47ff, 79; Vahram of Edessa, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 498. Samuel of Ani (*RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 448) gives the same information as Matthew of Edessa. The chronicle of Smbat (pp. 610-12) corroborates the information on Constantine's occupation of Vahga and his death, but the chronology is hopelessly muddled. A good historical review of Vahga can be found in Hovhannesian, *Kilikian berder*, pp. 123-34.

[125] Matthew of Edessa, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 100.

[126] Choniatēs, *Historia*, pp. 22-25; Joannes Cinnamus, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. Augustus Meineke (Bonn: Weberi, 1836), pp. 18-20; Smbat, *RHC, DocArm*, p. 616; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuz-*

the Armenian forts in the plain, which quickly surrendered to the Byzantine army, the garrison in Vahga remained unmoved after three weeks of siege. Finally, it was decided that each side should send its foremost warrior to do personal combat below the castle's walls. The winning party would retain possession of the castle. After an exhaustive combat, the Byzantine champion prevailed and the Armenians surrendered the fort. Shortly thereafter John Comnenus captured the Rubenid chief, Baron Levon I, his wife, and two sons.[127] Levon was to die in captivity, never to see his home again. Surprisingly, within a year and a half of its capture, Muhammad b. Gāzī, the Danişmendid (Danishmendid) emir, captured Vahga and Geben with little resistance from the Byzantine garrisons.[128] Fortunately one of Levon's sons, Toros II, escaped from Constantinople and returned to Cilicia. Collecting his father's vassals, he began to reassert his suzerainty in Cilicia by capturing the fortress of Vahga in 1144 (or early 1145).[129] Like his predecessors, he used Vahga as a base from which to recapture Cilicia Pedias from the Greeks. The fact that Vahga does not appear on the Coronation List of 1198/99 may reflect either the incompleteness of the list or simply that King Levon I was lord of his ancestral seat. Vahga briefly reenters recorded Armenian history in 1205, when King Levon I imprisoned his wife there, and in 1275, when the patriarch of Sis fled there to avoid the Mamluk raids.[130] Colophons on certain manuscripts indicate that they

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fahrerstaaten (Munich: W. Fink, 1981), p. 406n117; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronology*, p. 266.

[127] Smbat, *RHC, DocArm*, pp. 61ff; Gregory the Priest, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, pp. 152ff.

[128] Ibid.; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, Chabot, vol. 3, p. 248; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronology*, p. 266.

[129] Hetum, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 474; Vahram of Edessa, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, pp. 504ff; Smbat, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 618. The chronology of the latter is in doubt. We do not know if Toros captured the fort from a Byzantine or a Turkish garrison. Eventually the Greeks recognized Armenian suzerainty at Vahga; see Smbat, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 622.

[130] Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 172. For the Coronation list, see Edwards, *Fortifications*, Appendix 3; Smbat, *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 642; Smbat, *Le chronique*, Dédéyan, p. 84n84. Vahga's isolation made it an ideal prison; cf. Smbat, *Le chronique*, Dédéyan, p. 82. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronology*, p. 453; *RHC, DocArm*, vol. 1, p. 530n1.

were copied in a scriptorium in or near the fortress.

Considering that the area of Vahga was continuously inhabited by Armenians from the late eleventh century until the mid-1920s, there is surprisingly little information on this site. Prior to the formal survey of the castle by Dunbar and Boal, we had only sketchy descriptions of the fort.[131] Langlois avoids this site, and Alishan has less than a page of summary comments.[132] A few years prior to the destruction and abandonment of the Armenian city, a photo was taken of the castle and the adjoining city.[133] Many of its houses appear to have had tile roofs and stuccoed walls. Today only the foundations of the houses survive. In September 1960 Dunbar and Boal carried out an exhaustive and highly competent survey of the fortress.[134] Sixteen years later Hellenkemper published a "resume" of the Dunbar and Boal study.[135] My work at this site essentially confirmed the findings of Dunbar and Boal. The following is a summary of my own field survey which includes a number of new observations.

From the road that links Feke to Saimbeyli a narrow dirt trail leads northeast to the castle. Except for a few squatters, the vast sloping expanse southwest of the fort, which the town of Vahga once occupied, is abandoned. About 0.75 kilometer from the castle there are the impressive remains of a Byzantine church. Unfortunately during my visit I was unable to complete a plan of this structure, but I did photograph the church and collect the following notes.

This two-story, aisleless church was covered by a single barrel vault. The east end of the church terminates in a massive protruding apse. In 1974 the entire apsidal semidome and all but a few springing stones of the barrel vault were missing. Most of the south wall is preserved to its original height, while only a small fragment of the north wall is standing. Substantial fragments of the west wall of the church are still in situ, including the sill of a door. On the exterior of the south jamb of that door there are deep vertical cavettos and flanking tori. The tori have thinly incised edges. The only other evidence of relief decoration is on the exterior of the apse. Here four horizontal bands, which run around the entire expanse of the apse, define four undecorated registers. The lower two registers and their bands stand to a height of 1.67 meters from the present ground level.[136] The first horizontal band, which appears to divide the two lower registers into units of equal height, consists of a deep cavetto flanked by a plain fascia at the bottom and a torus at the top. The horizontal band at the top of the second register from ground level is a broader, more shallow cavetto with a single string course below and a simple squared cornice above. The upper two registers, which constitute almost two-thirds of the height of the apsidal wall, survive only at the north and south. However, what does remain provides valuable clues as to the date of this Greek church. The third register was opened by three roundheaded windows. Part of the sill for the southernmost window still survives in situ. The third horizontal molding gently curves around the tops of the windows. This molding consists of a cavetto flanked by a torus. Similar decorations around the arches of windows are common on the fifth- and sixth-century Byzantine churches in east Cilicia.[137] Another link with that pre-Arab tradition is the course of dentils that makes up the upper half of the fourth (or highest) horizontal band. The lower half consists of a simple congé. Dentils on the top molding of the apse are a ubiquitous feature in the fifth- and sixth-century churches.[138] The springing for the semidome rested directly atop the fourth molding.

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[131] Schaffer, "Cilicia," p. 91; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, pp. 96ff.

[132] Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 172; J.G. Dunbar and W.W. Boal, "The Castle of Vahga," *Anatolian Studies* 14 (1964): 176n5; cf. Der Ghazarian, *Haykakan Kilikia*, pp. 28-30.

[133] Poghosian, *Hacheni endhanur patmutiun*, pp. 26ff.

[134] Dunbar and Boal, "Castle of Vahga," pp. 175-84.

[135] Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, pp. 217-23.

The masonry of the church is also quite similar to pre-Arab Byzantine traditions in Cilicia which often have an apse of fine ashlar and nave walls of poor-quality stone. Here at Vahga Köy the exterior facing of the apse consists of huge, superbly dressed blocks of ashlar. A few of these stones are over 85 centimeters in length and 65 centimeters in height; some have been keyed into adjoining blocks. On the interior of the apse the facing stones resemble those of the nave wall, a small but well-cut ashlar. Most of the interior facing stones have fallen away, exposing the rough inner side of the exterior facing. Only small fragments of a core survive in the apsidal wall. Typically, in the walls of the nave, the cores are very thin. In the lower courses of the nave walls, which tend to have much larger blocks than in the upper half, the cores are so thin that the inner and outer facing stones often abut. The upper half has a slightly wider core of fieldstones and mortar. The largest ashlar blocks in the nave are used for the four roundheaded windows in the upper (or second) level of the south wall.[139] Two similar windows are still visible in the north wall. On the exterior of the south wall of the nave there are the broken fragments of corbels at the level of the window sills. There is the trace of one large corbel at a lower level. The exact function of the corbels is not certain. Since there are no windows or doors in the lower level of the south wall, the corbels may have anchored some sort of attached building.

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[136] Dirt and accumulated debris appear to cover about half the height of the lowest register.

[137] Robert W. Edwards, "Two New Byzantine Churches in Cilicia," *Anatolian Studies* 32 (1982): 25ff.

[138] Ibid.

In the immediate area of the Byzantine church there are a number of buildings made with similar ashlar or even large well-cut cyclopean stones. In a collapsed building adjacent to the church, there is a relief of a Byzantine cross on a large block of smooth ashlar. The alpha and omega on the cross are inverted because the block was recycled (probably during an Armenian period of occupation) to function as a door jamb. A similar alpha and omega occur on a cross at the late fifth-century basilica in Kadirli. Although no epigraphs have yet been found at Vahga Köy, it appears that the aisleless church is a pre-Arab Byzantine construction. The church may have been used in the Armenian period from the late eleventh century onward.[140] The few remnants of a pre-Armenian period of construction on the castle outcrop probably came from the Byzantine period.

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[139] In terms of weight and mass, the largest blocks in the church are the cyclopean stones that make up the salient ends of the apsidal wall.

[140] For information on the Armenian churches and monasteries in the immediate region of Vahga see above, notes 128 and 129, and Oskian, *Kilikiayi vankere.*

East of the Byzantine church is the fortress and outcrop known as Vahga Kalesi. Like those of its smaller neighbor to the west, Maran, the circuit walls follow a long serpentine spine of limestone (Fig. 4). The entire east flank of the castle is an unapproachable cliff; most of the east circuit wall was intended to function as a mere revetment. There is evidence of only one salient on the east flank (attached to the northeast comer of J). The cliff below the east circuit measures from 18 to 60 meters in height. The relatively steep cliffs continue around the north end of the castle but soon spread into a more gentle slope, which provides a convenient point of access at the southwest. The approachable west flank of the castle explains the one-sided defenses (Plate 18). At its highest point, cistern J, the fortress is about 1,270 meters in altitude. It is by no means the highest peak in the immediate area. To the north of the castle some of the mountains are over 2,000 meters in height. However, the castle outcrop at Vahga was most suitable for observing the river valley and the north-south road.

Most of the partially masoned stairs in the approach path at the southwest have vanished, although their scarped foundations are clearly visible. Just before one reaches point A, the area where a now collapsed platform preceded the entrance to the outer gatehouse, it becomes apparent that all the exterior facing stones of the circuit walls and towers consist of a very uniform type VII. The only exceptions are E and F, which will be discussed below. When looking north into the south door of the outer gatehouse, it seems that a circuit of type VII masonry once extended from the southeast corner of the gatehouse. This wall encircled a small shelf directly west of the vaulted tubular passage. The wall probably formed a small flanking salient whose loopholes could guard the entrance to the outer gatehouse. When this salient wall collapsed, it exposed a door (at point B; Plate 19) that connected the tubular passage to the interior of the salient. The exterior facing stones around door B are a small, but very uniform, type VIII. However, the type VIII, which was also the interior facing stone of the flanking salient, is actually the result of a second period of construction. Careful

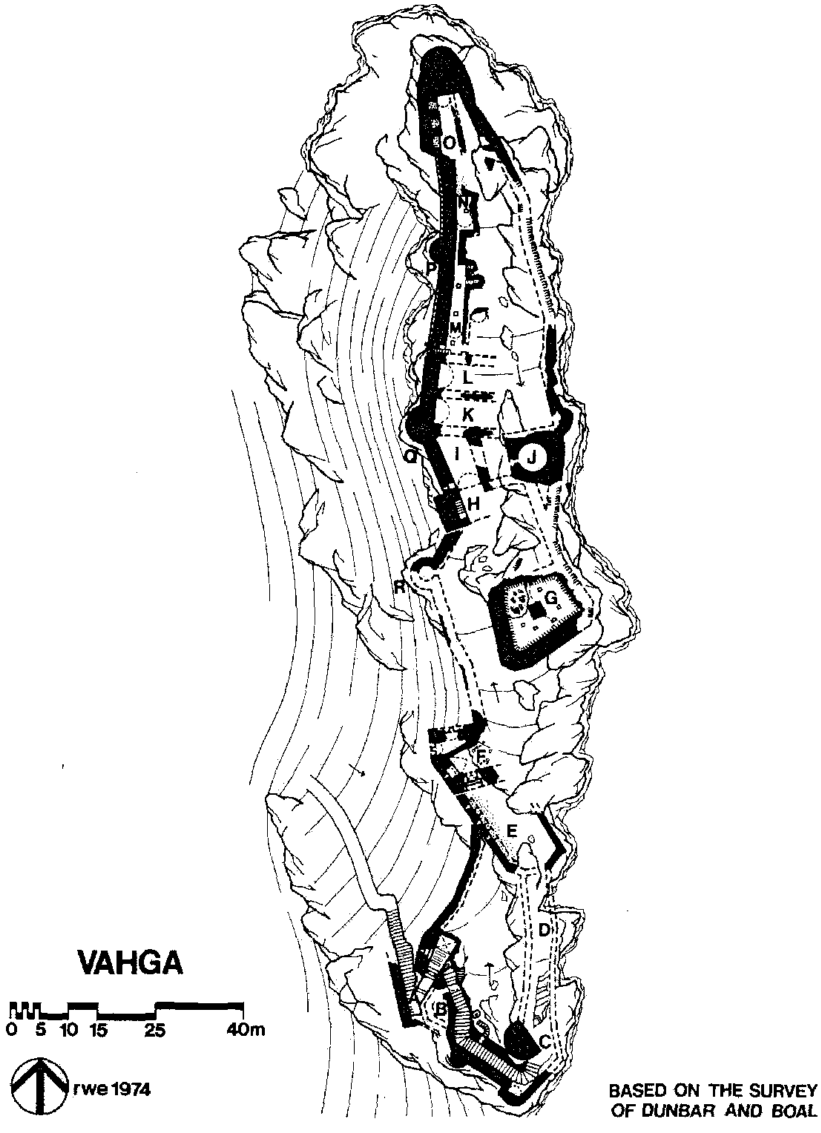

Fig. 75

Fig. 4. Outline of Vahga (Vahka)

observation of the damaged area above door B shows an earlier exterior facing stone (a well-coursed type IV). Thus the construction of the outer gate, the collapsed flanking salient, and the use of type VII as an exterior facing postdate part of the tubular passage.

The outer gatehouse, which is a bent entrance, is the result of one period of construction. The only unusual feature on the exterior are the superbly cut voussoirs of the south door. They are a brownish limestone, while the rest of the gatehouse is built with gray limestone. This intentional alteration in the color of the limestone appears in the other parts of the fortress. This south opening once accommodated double wooden doors. Stone steps are still visible in the sill of the door. On the interior the plan of the gatehouse is an elongated trapezoid, which has two other openings at ground level. At the east there is a door that opens into the vaulted tubular passage. In the west wall there is a single huge embrasured loophole with casemate. The casemate is slightly atypical of Armenian construction in that its inner half is expanded, giving it a bipartite appearance. The arches over the embrasure and casemate are roundheaded. The unique feature of this gatehouse is in the ceiling. There is a single groined vault at the north end which has the typical Armenian cross-shaped keystone. To the south the slightly pointed vault over the rest of the gatehouse is opened by three broad machicolations. Today these are blocked by debris; undoubtedly a now collapsed second level commanded the machicolations. The interior facing stones of the outer gate generally consist of type IX. Stairs in the gatehouse continue through the east door which is guarded by its own machicolation. This door leads directly into the tubular passage which snakes southeast for about 33 meters before it abruptly turns to the north.

About 3-8 meters south of the outer gatehouse, there is a subterranean cistern whose scarped walls are covered by a barrel vault. Fortunately large sections of the tubular passage over the cistern survive, giving valuable information on the nature of its design. Most of the interior and exterior facing of this entrance passage consists of types VII or VIII. The continuous barrel vault of the passage was opened by occasional hatches through which the defenders could fire on an approaching party. At the extreme southeast corner of the passage there is a small vaulted chamber; this room was surmounted by a now collapsed second level. At the opposite end of the southeast corner there is the solid, almost semicircular, tower C. The masonry of this bastion is quite unique in that the courses consist of small ashlar blocks that are laid on both their vertical and horizontal axes. This style is quite similar to some of the masonry in the Byzantine church below. In the present gate complex the tower has no apparent function since the tubular passage winds around it along corridor D. The section of the passage north of C has collapsed. Tower C is probably a remnant of Byzantine construction at this site. The masonry and design of the outer gatehouse and the tubular passage are Armenian in character. The two periods of construction above door B may both date from the Armenian occupation. The small enclosure created by the winding tunnel and rock mass at the east could be entered only through an extremely narrow door just east and above the subterranean cistern. This enclosure really does not constitute an inhabitable bailey, but more an open room through which the defenders could pass in order to man the machicolations in the outer gatehouse and vaulted tunnel.

E is a broad corridor, lined with three embrasured loopholes at the west and offering direct access into the south lower-level door of the two-story inner gatehouse F. The three west embrasures in E are now covered with the accumulation of dirt and debris. The walls of E barely protrude above ground level.

Today the entire east wall of F has collapsed. The broken lower-level south door of F shows evidence of once having had a slot machicolation. E and F are unique with respect to their masonry. The exterior facing stones of both structures consist of a combination of types IV, VII, and VIII. The latter is in the minority. The smooth ashlar (type IX), which is used to frame the doors and windows as well as the vertical seams in the corner of F, is dark brown in color.[141] The presence of type VII masonry and the selective use of brown limestone indicate that

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[141] These cornerstones are not quoins. Dunbar and Boal ("Castle of Vahga," pp. 179ff) offer a description and section drawing of the various openings in both levels of F.

E and F are probably Armenian in origin. What appears to have happened is that F was completely rebuilt following the original pentagonal plan (probably Byzantine) and using recycled materials as well as freshly cut types VII and VIII. The reconstruction appears to have been rather hasty, considering the variety of filling materials used in the margins of the stones. Even after its reconstruction it seems to have been patched. Judging from their masonry and junctions, E was constructed shortly after F.

What is most interesting is that the loopholes in E are oriented to the south-west, as if the outer gate complex and the vaulted passage did not exist. When the outer gatehouse was built, a circuit of only type VII masonry attached the outer gatehouse to the lower level of E. In the remains of that connecting circuit are the faint traces of embrasured loopholes (not shown on the plan). After the circuit was constructed, the southernmost loophole in E was no longer functional. Thus E and F may represent the first period of Armenian construction at this site (perhaps in the late eleventh century). After the recapture of the fort by the Armenians in 1144 a decision may have been made to enlarge the entrance into the fort. This period also saw the construction of the circuit from O through R. Unfortunately only a few minor traces of the circuit wall from F to R survive today. During the Dunbar and Boal survey, substantial portions of the circuit must have been visible, for they noted that the masonry was made of "small, roughly coursed blocks reinforced with horizontal beams."[142] These two authors suspect that the circuit from F to R predates the construction of the inner gatehouse.[143]

Northeast of F is the roughly trapezoidal cistern G. This massive structure has a scarped foundation. It seems to have been adapted into a natural basin in the limestone. Since the sides of the basin are lowest at the south, the amount of supplemental masonry is much greater at this end. On the exterior the facing stones consist of a combination of types VII, VIII, and IX. The regular courses are occasionally broken by large ashlar blocks that are fitted into two-course levels. It appears that some of the exterior facing consists of high-quality recycled masonry. The presence of type VII probably indicates that this is an Armenian construction. On the interior the facing stones consist of an attractive well-coursed type IX. Large patches of stucco still cover the masoned walls. The design of the cistern is simple yet ingenious in that a continuous and slightly asymmetrical barrel vault revolves around a square pillar in the center. The resulting carousel-like dome was opened by seven square hatches. Two of the hatches disappeared when the north-west corner of the dome collapsed. The cistern was filled by water that drained down through rock-cut channels from the higher limestone mass to the north and northeast. From floor to ceiling the height of cistern G is just over 8 meters.

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[142] Dunbar and Boal, "Castle of Vahga," p. 181.

[143] This may represent one of the few traces of Byzantine construction near the summit. Timber supports occur in other Byzantine forts of Cilicia (cf. Evciler).

To the northwest of G is the small collapsed room H. Only the west wall of H, which protrudes as a square buttress on the exterior of the circuit, survives today. On the interior side of the west wall, a type VII facing is still visible as well as a fragment of the stairway. The stairway gives access to the battlements on the top of the circuit. Above K and L only the first course of those battlements is visible. Most of the exterior facing stones of H consist of type VII like the rest of the circuit to the north. However, on the surviving section of the south wall of H there is an interesting variation in that the stones in some courses are exclusively type VIII. The rather thick, but consistently layered, core of fieldstones and mortar shows that H is the result of one period of construction.

Most of the barrel-vaulted chamber I to the north has collapsed. What remains of its interior facing stones is essentially a well-cut type VIII. In the south-west corner of I there is a squareheaded window that is flanked on the inner side by a vaulted casemate. Directly east of I is chamber J. This structure now stands to less than 4 meters in height, but judging from the thickness of its walls it once stood at least two stories. J is not a tower but a trapezoidal room whose west wall was incorporated into a now collapsed east circuit.[144] The east wall of J did not extrude from the line of the circuit. A small rounded salient in the east circuit is attached to the northeast corner of J. The exterior facing of the east circuit is a very uniform type VII. However, the few surviving fragments of the exterior facing of J show the same mixture of masonry types that appears on the facing of G. Thus J is probably Armenian but may not be contemporary with the construction of the type VII circuit. On the interior, J is circular with a narrow entrance in the west flank. The interior masonry is a very uniform type VIII.

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[144] The circuit now survives as a revetment along the cliff. Only a small section

To the north and adjacent to I are the vaulted chambers K and L. Unlike I, the slightly pointed barrel vaults of K and L run on an east-west axis. Both vaults as well as most of the north, east, and south walls of K and L have collapsed. In the surviving west walls the facing stones consist of a very uniform type VIII. North of L the topography on the interior descends over a relatively flat slope that is devoid of extensive construction.

In the north wall of L there is a blocked door that gives access to the subterranean chambers M and N. The latter run along the interior side of the northwest circuit. A small portion of the south end of M protrudes above present ground level. In the top of this section the southernmost of the three square hatches, which open the barrel vault of M, is clearly visible. To the west of this hatch there is a small chamber in the thickness of the wall as well as an adjoining stairway. Near the chamber is the shaft of a privy that terminates on the exterior of the circuit wall in a spout. It is clear that other chambers were once constructed above the subterranean rooms M and N. The floor on the interior of undercroft M is cluttered with debris (Plate 20). Along the entire length of M at the springing level are joist holes that once held crossbeams. A 6-meter section of the east wall of M is constructed with a large type IV masonry. This contrasts sharply with the rest of the interior facing of types VII and VIII. Dunbar and Boal believe the type IV to be from an earlier period of construction.[145] This ma-

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north of J stands more than 3 meters above present ground level.

[145] Dunbar and Boal, "Castle of Vahga," pp.182ff.

sonry also appears in the east wall of the narrow corridor between M and N. However, the type IV could also represent a later (Armenian) period of construction. The two doors in the northeast corner of M are blocked today with debris. The corridor separating M and N is only 87 centimeters in width and is covered by a half-barrel vault. The walls of chamber N are constructed almost exclusively with type VII, while type VIII is more frequent in the barrel vault of N. In the north wall of N there is a now blocked door that leads to another unsurveyed room. A large piece of limestone was allowed to protrude through the east wall of N.

At the extreme north end of the castle there are two long chambers separated by a partially collapsed wall of type VII masonry. The east chamber survives only to its foundations. In the collapsed west chamber the springing for its barrel vault is still visible at the north. In the west wall of the west chamber there are three vaulted niches, all of which are blocked with debris.

The north half of the west circuit is characterized by two important features (Plate 21). First, the circuit is unusually tall, measuring over 16 meters from the surface of the cliff to the top of the battlements.[146] Second, there are no massive horseshoe-shaped towers to provide extensive flanking fire along the circuit, but merely shallow salients (P, Q, H, and R) that act more as buttresses. This plan is a response to the topography. The severity of the cliff and slope in the north half of the west flank would keep the enemy at a safe distance and drastically reduce the need for defenses. The walls are brought to an unusual height not so much to impress an enemy, but more to provide a backing or revetment for the two levels of undercrofts on the interior. The Armenian engineers inset the upper half of the circuit between O and P and between P and Q in order to add stability to the walls. The ledge created by the displacement of the wall was covered by a small talus.

Unfortunately no precise dates can be given to the different periods of Armenian construction at this site. The few fragments of what is suspected to be Byzantine construction (tower

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[146] The battlements have collapsed, but I estimate them to be 1.6 meters in height.

C and the circuit between F and R) obviously predate the mid-twelfth century. It is impossible to date the construction of the outer gatehouse at Vahga by comparing it to the upper bailey gatehouse at Yīlan.[147] The latter cannot be dated to any specific period in the Armenian kingdom.[148] Also, Yīlan is not designed with broad internal machicolations, nor is it built in conjunction with a vaulted, tunnel.

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[147] Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, p. 223.

[148] Robert W. Edwards, "On the Supposed Date of Yīlan Kalesi," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 1 (1984): 23ff.

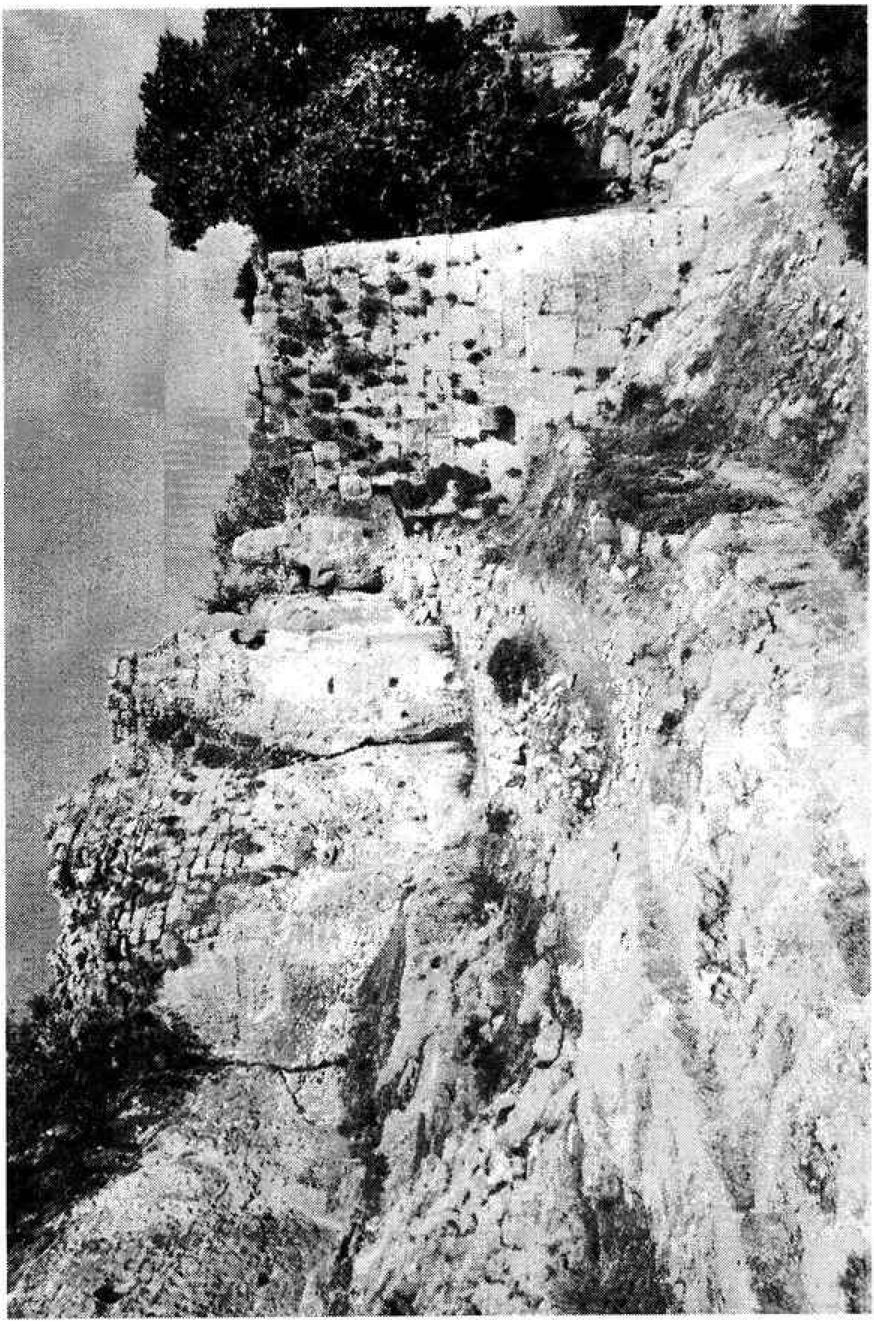

Plate 1. Lampron (Lambron), looking east at the exterior of G

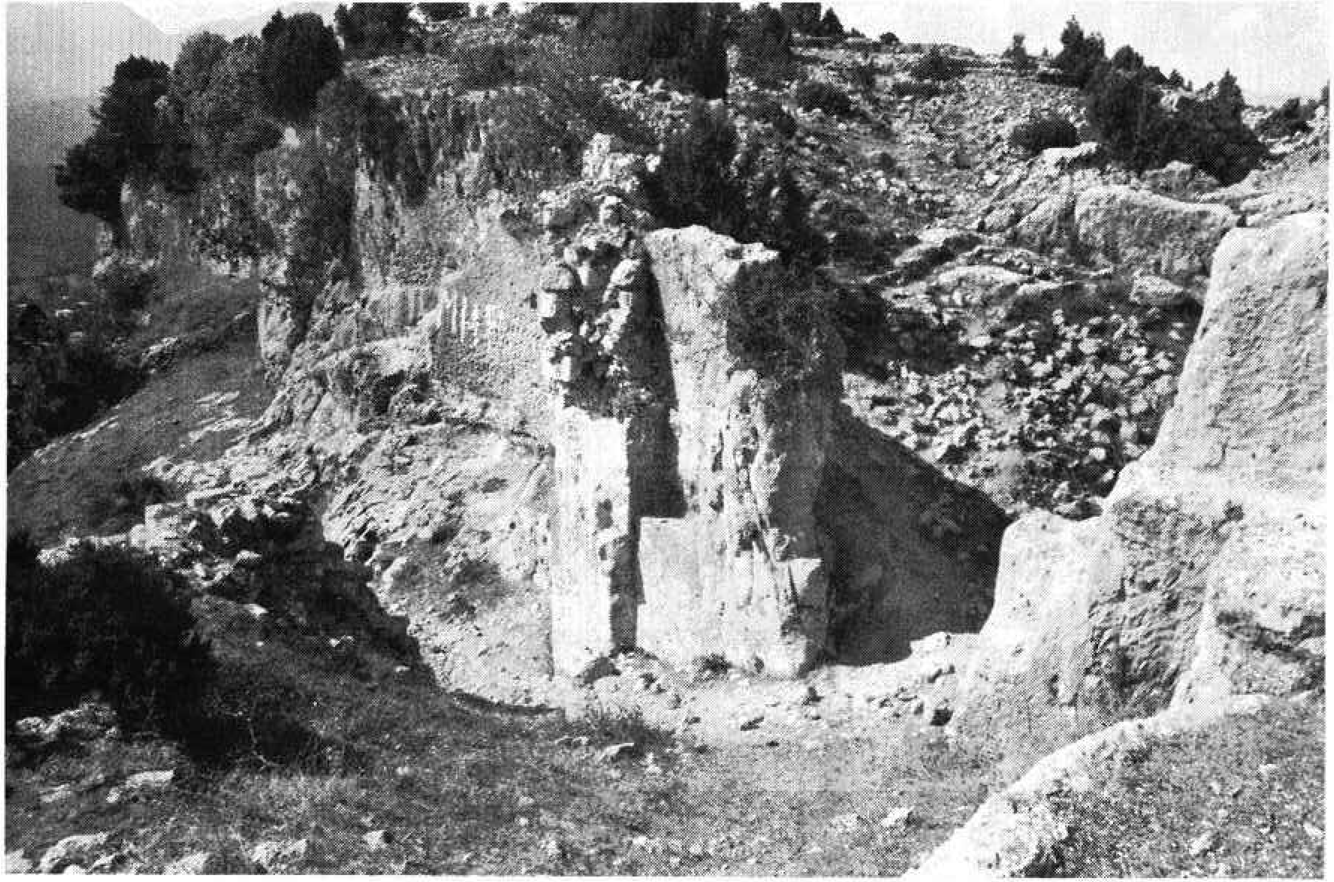

Plate 2. Lampron, looking northwest at the interior of G

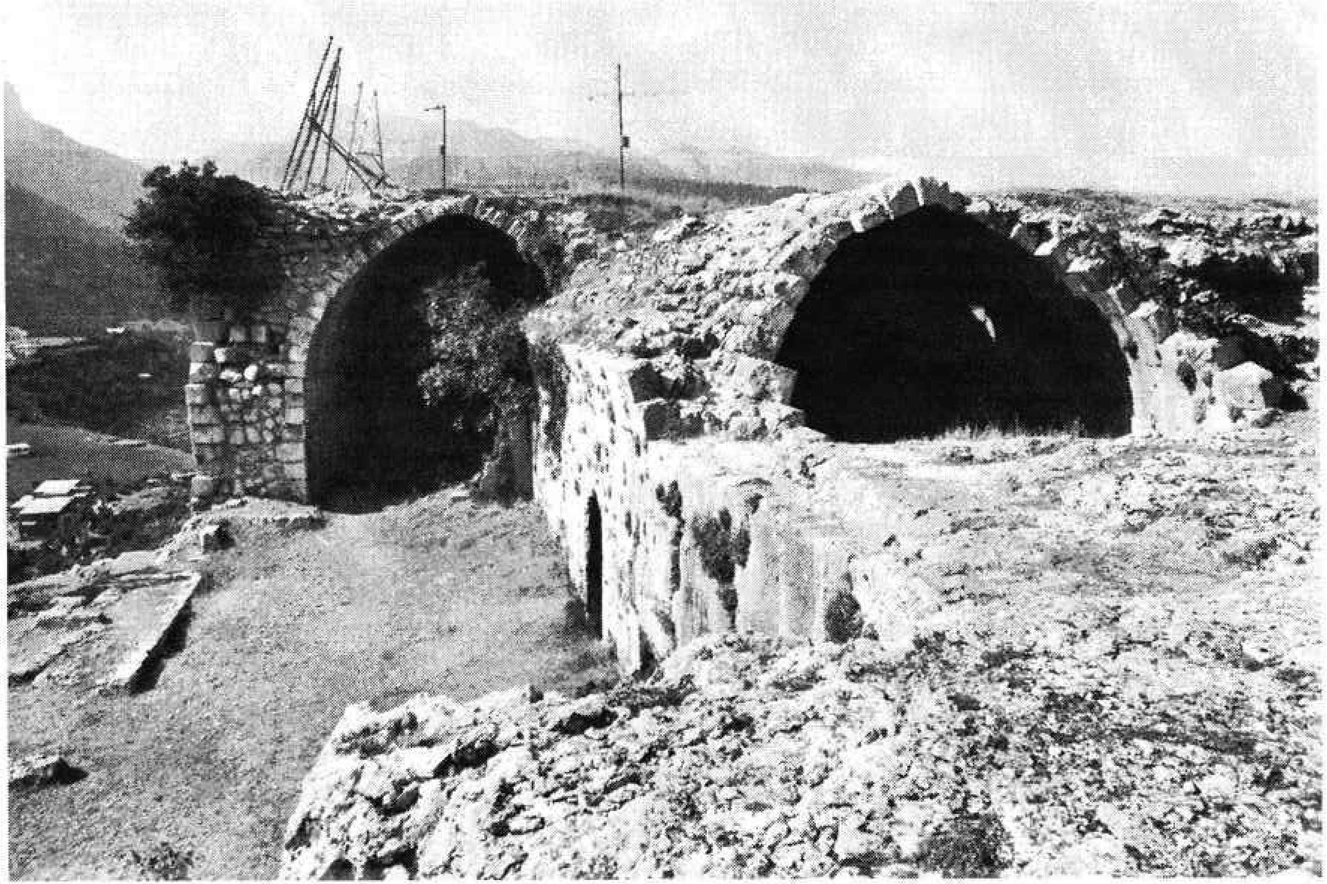

Plate 3. Lampron, looking north at L, M, and N

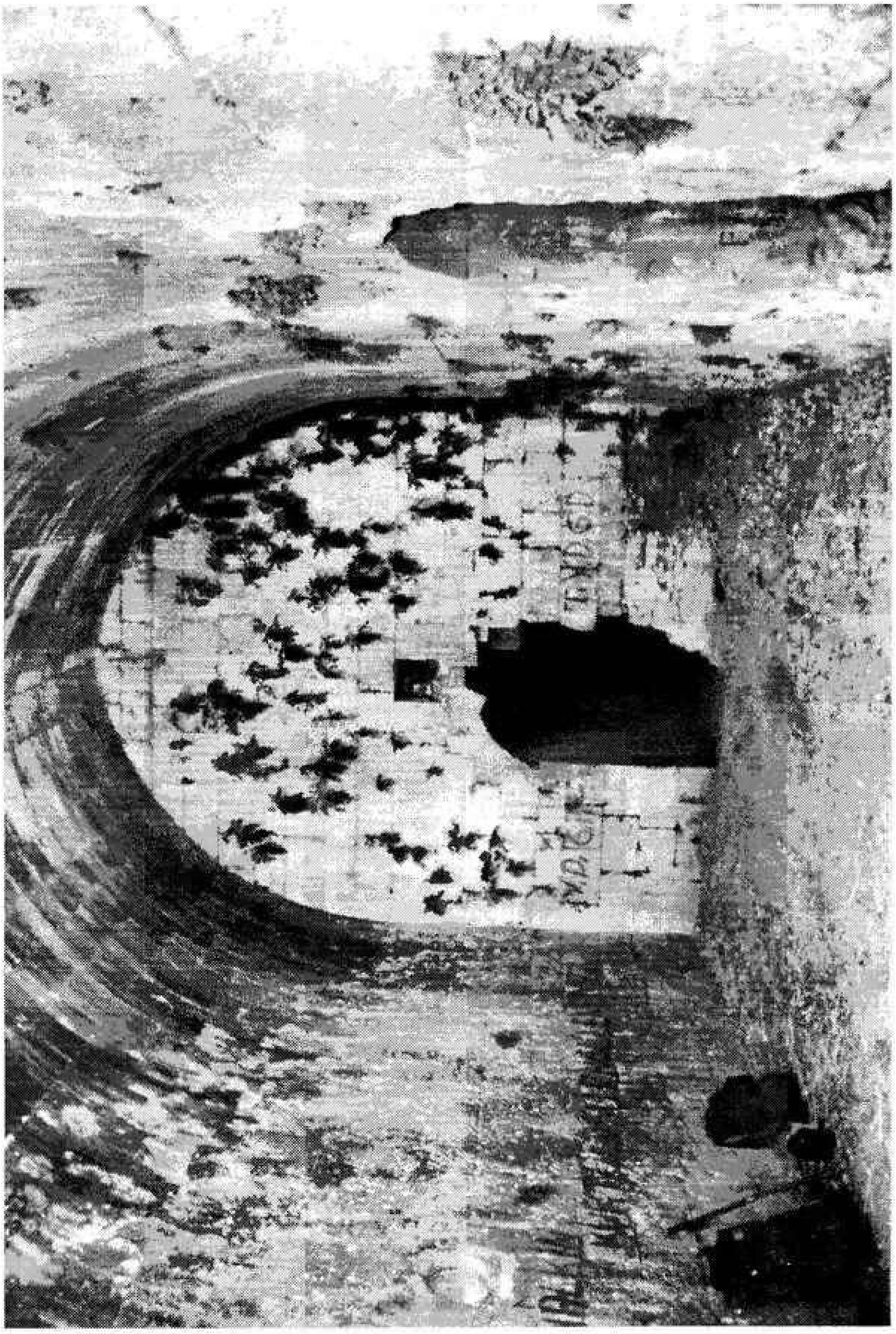

Plate 4. Lampron, looking northwest at the interior of N

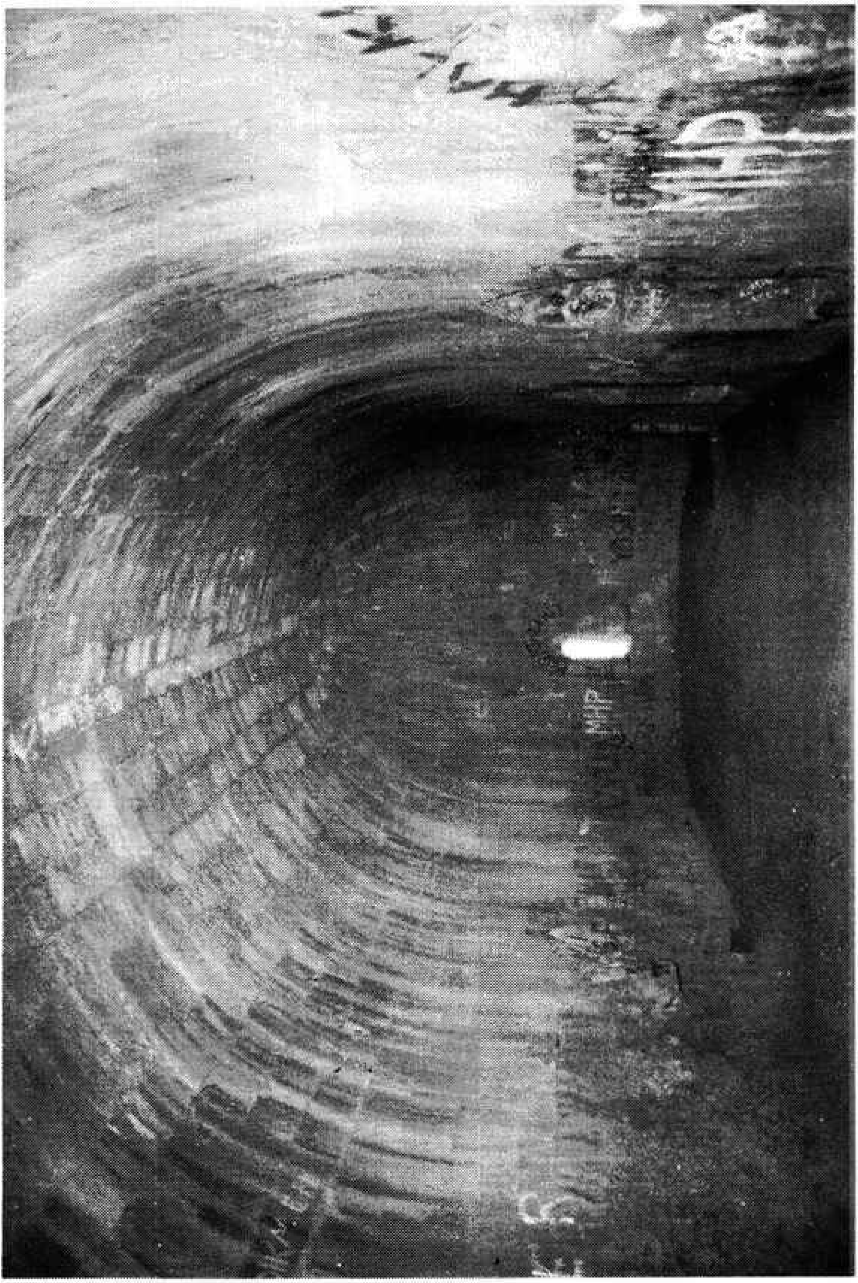

Plate 5. Lampron, looking northwest at the interior of P

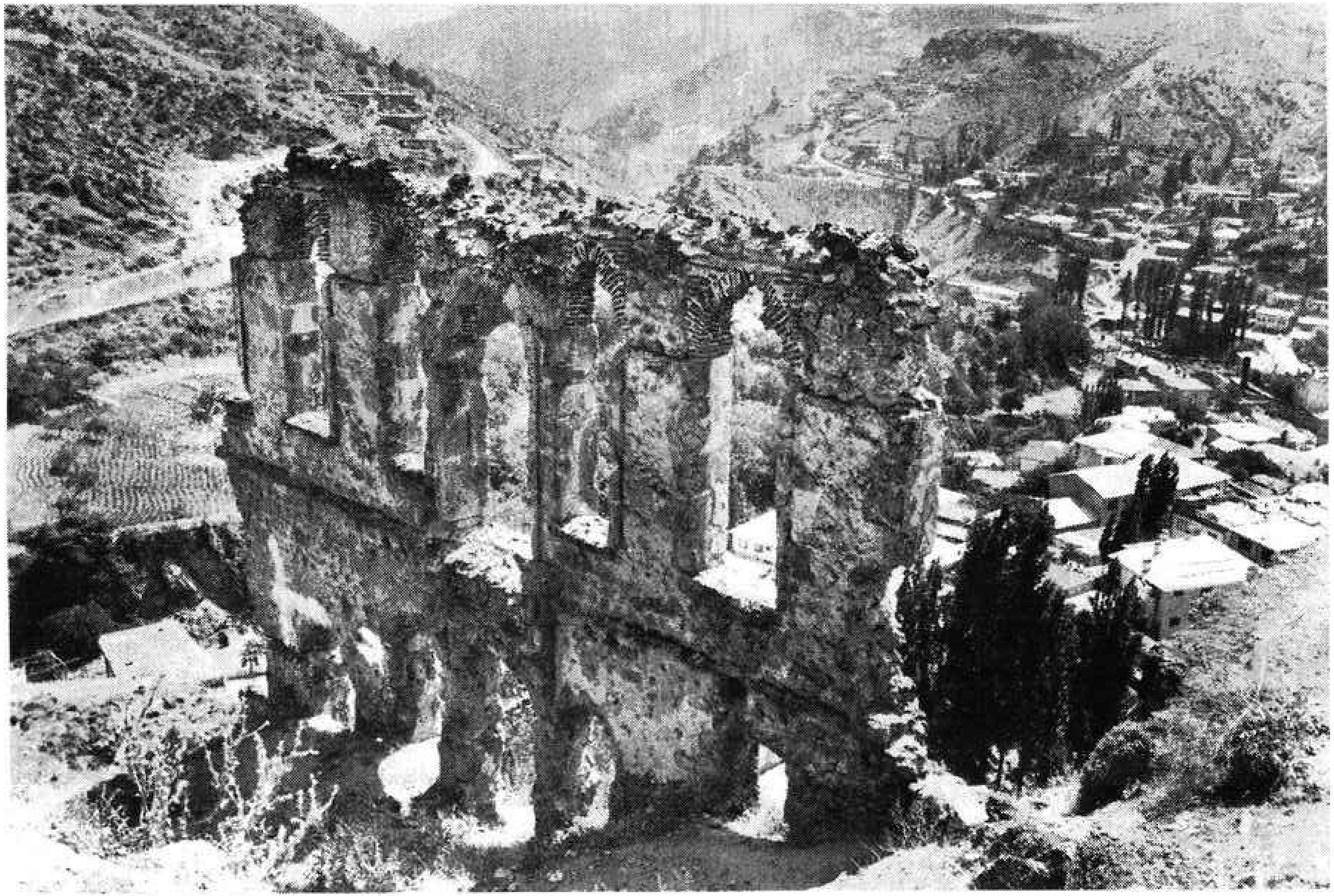

Plate 6. Saimbeyli (Hajin) looking southwest from the top of A

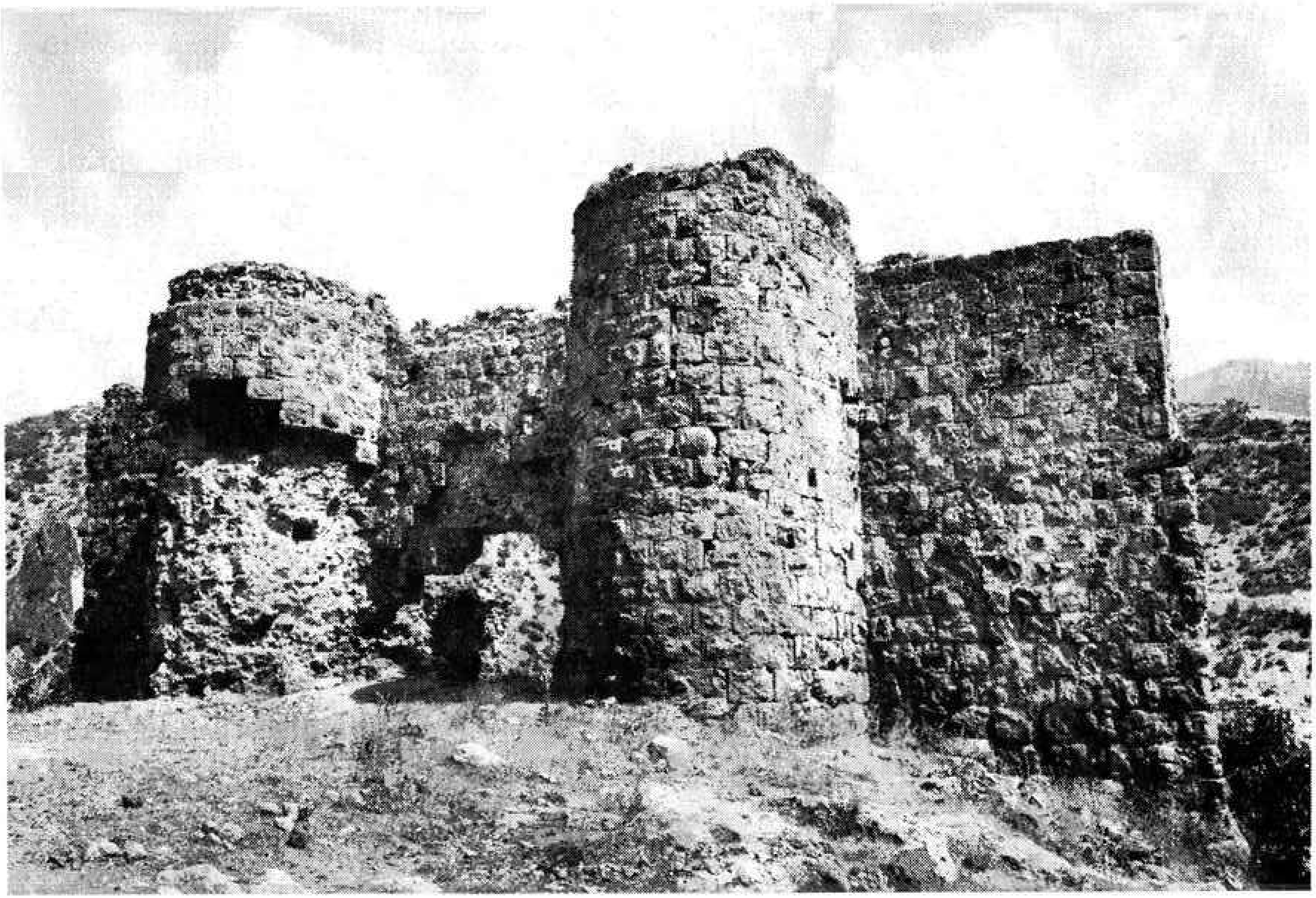

Plate 7. Saimbeyli, looking southwest at the exterior of A and B

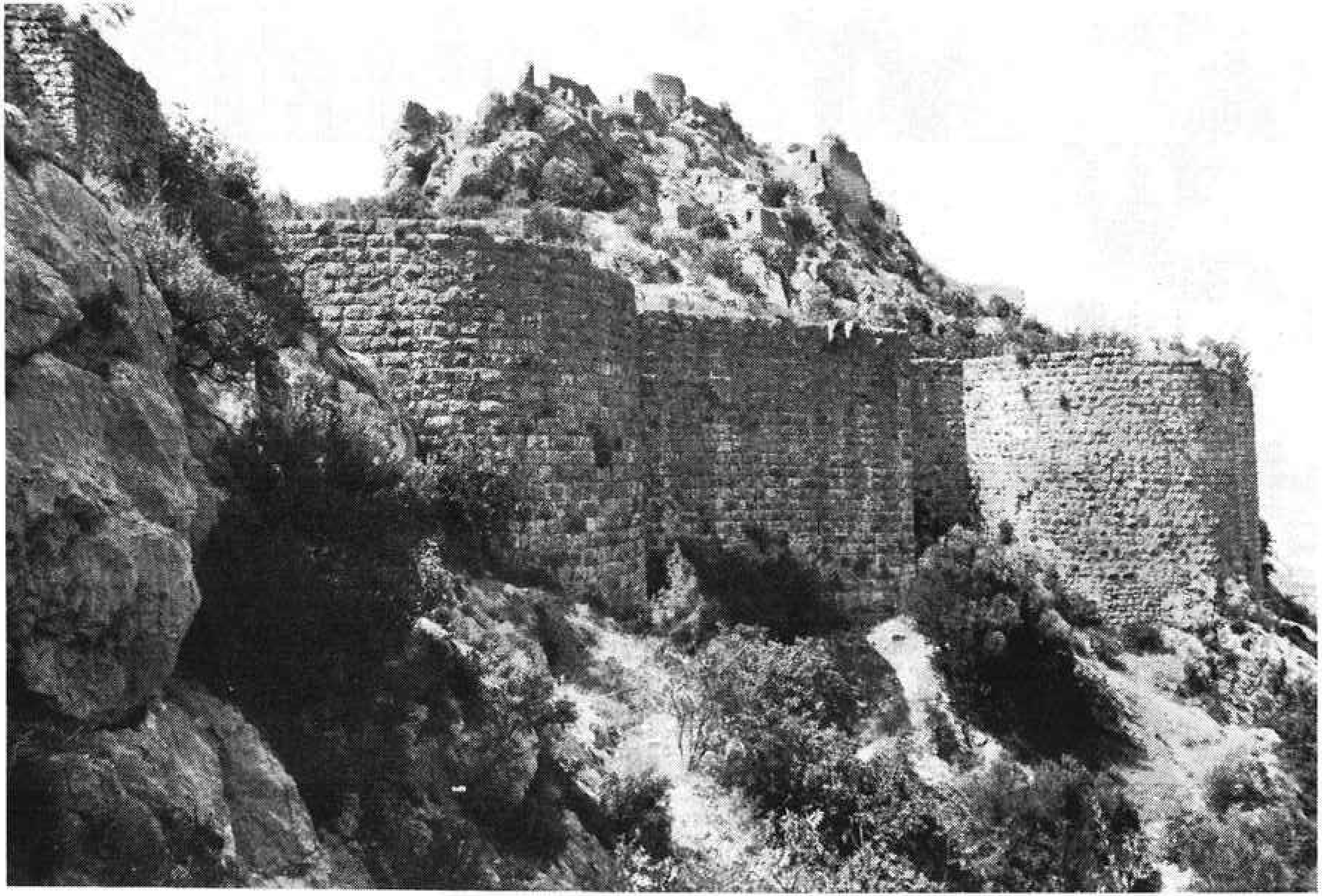

Plate 8. Sis, looking north at the exterior of B, A, and N (center), with S-W above

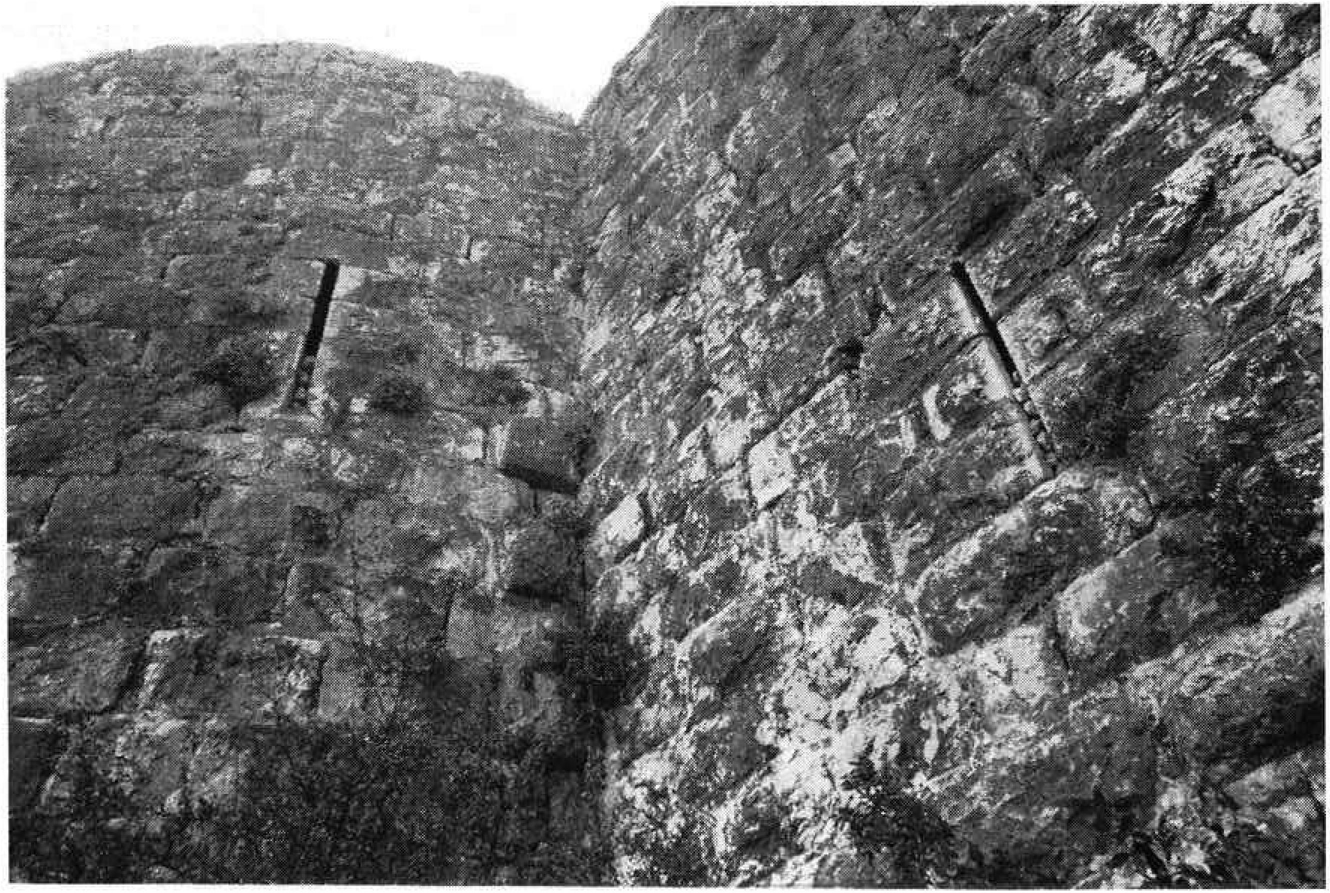

Plate 9. Sis, looking west at the exterior junction between A and B

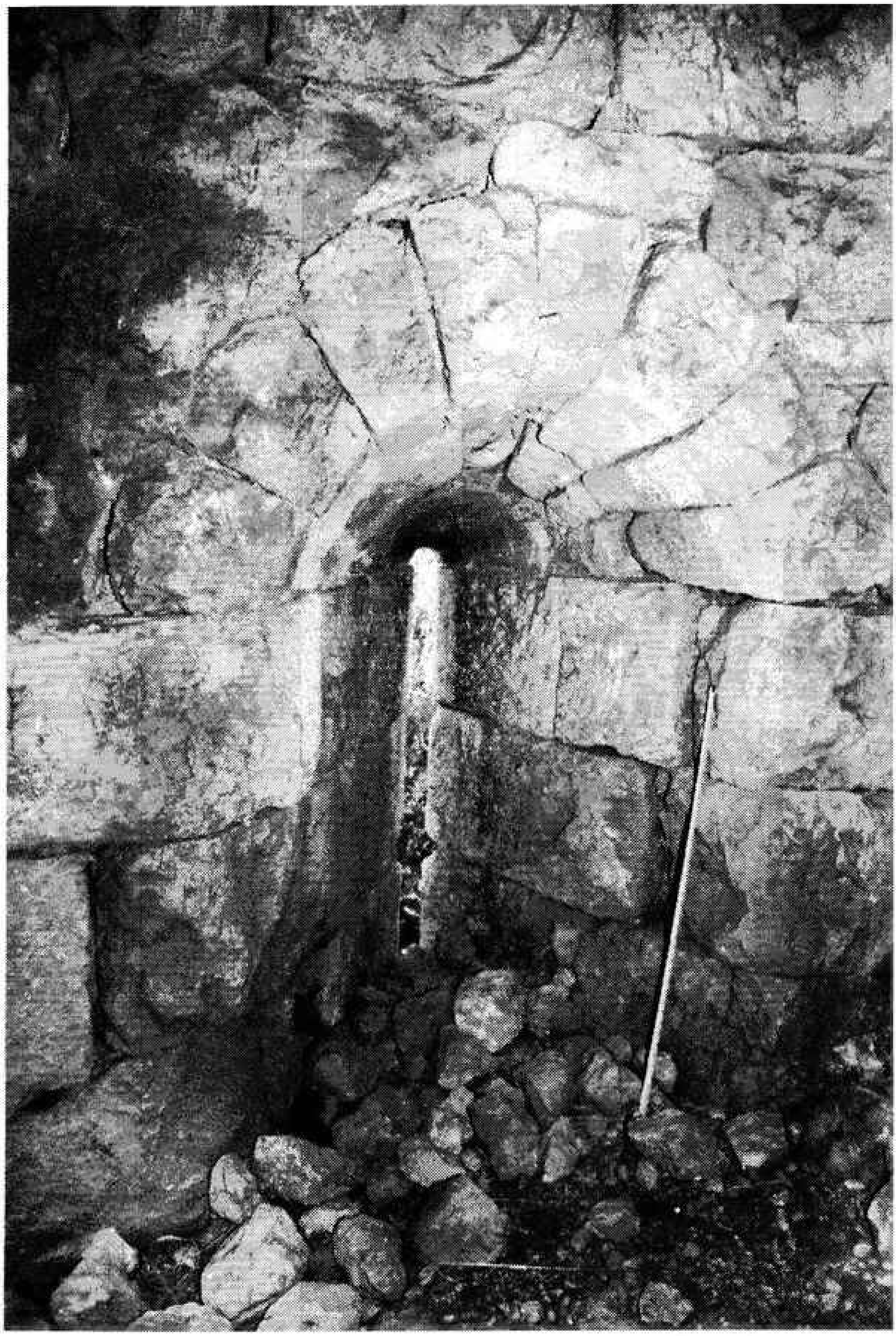

Plate 10. Sis, looking southeast at the interior of an embrasure in A

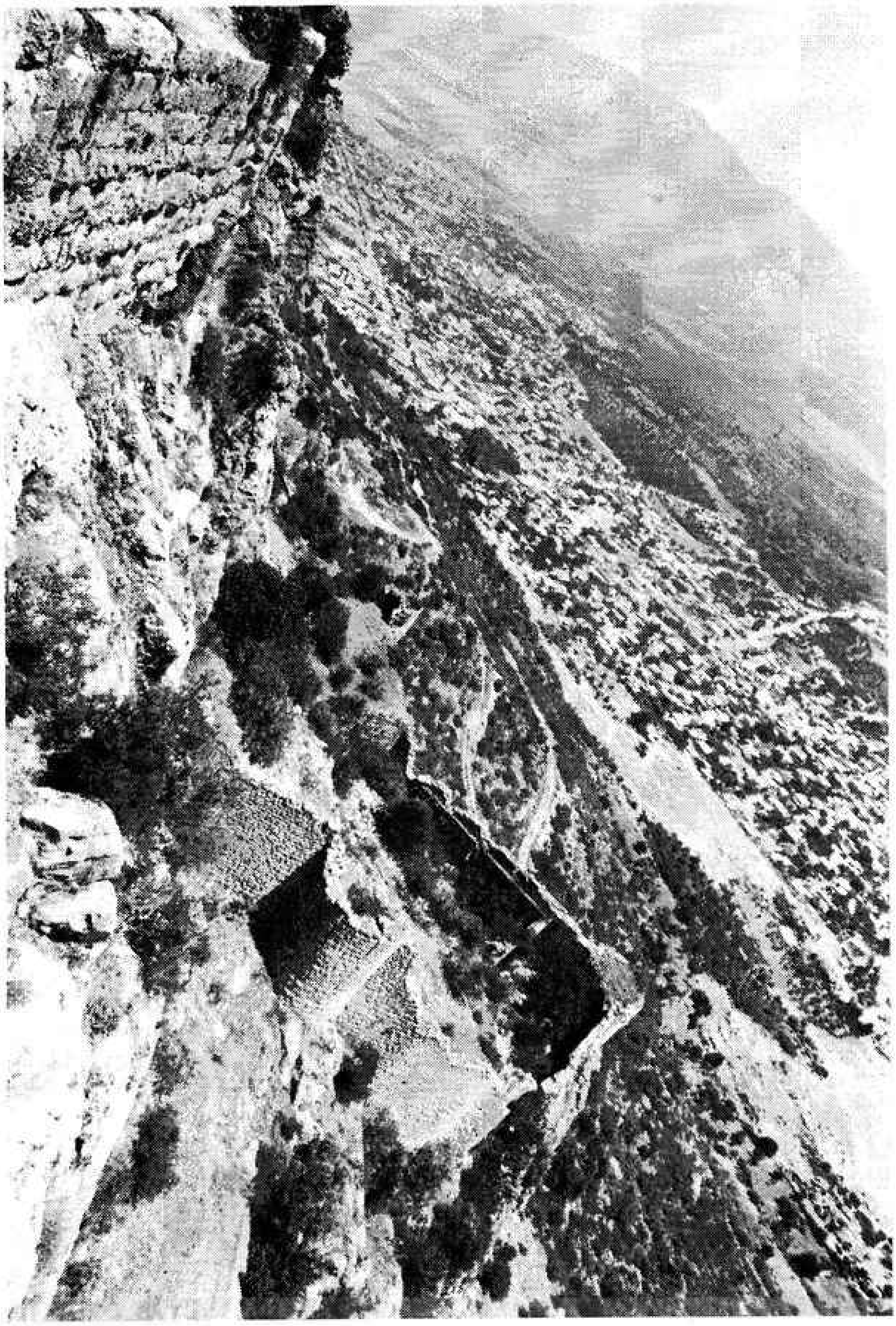

Plate 11. Sis, looking northeast from M toward E and F

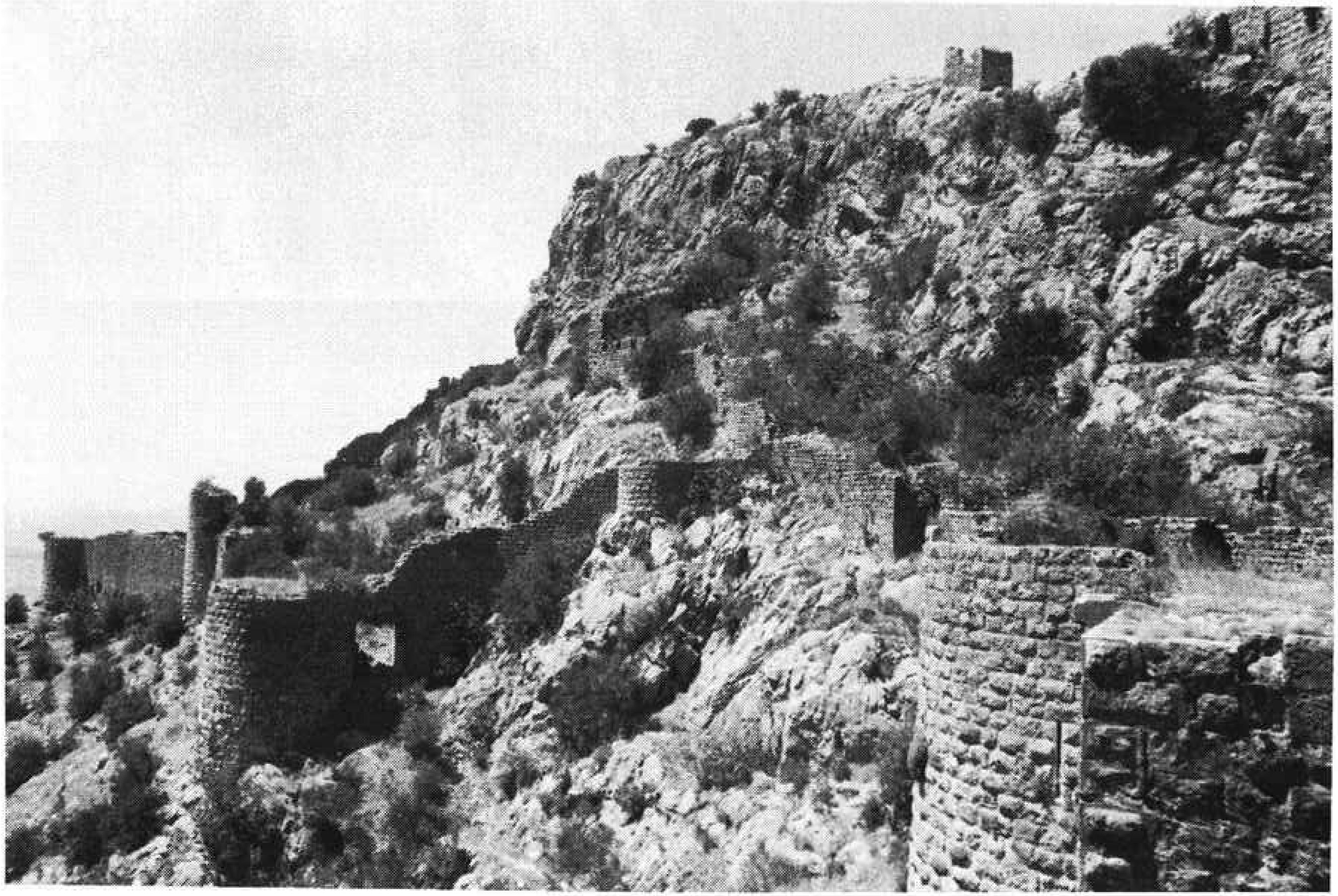

Plate 12. Sis, looking southwest from N to C-F (below), with I-M at upper right

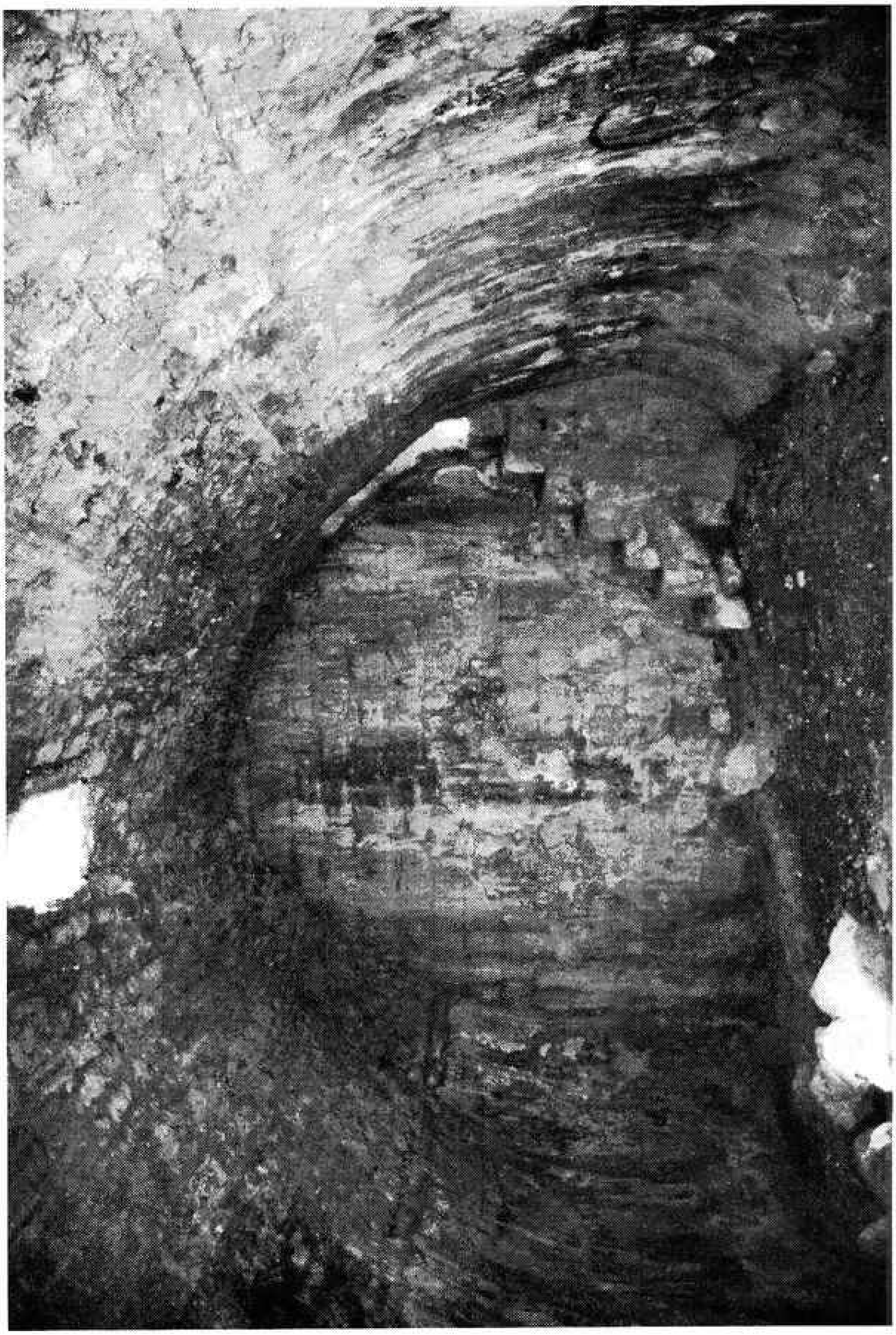

Plate 13. Sis, looking northeast at the interior of L

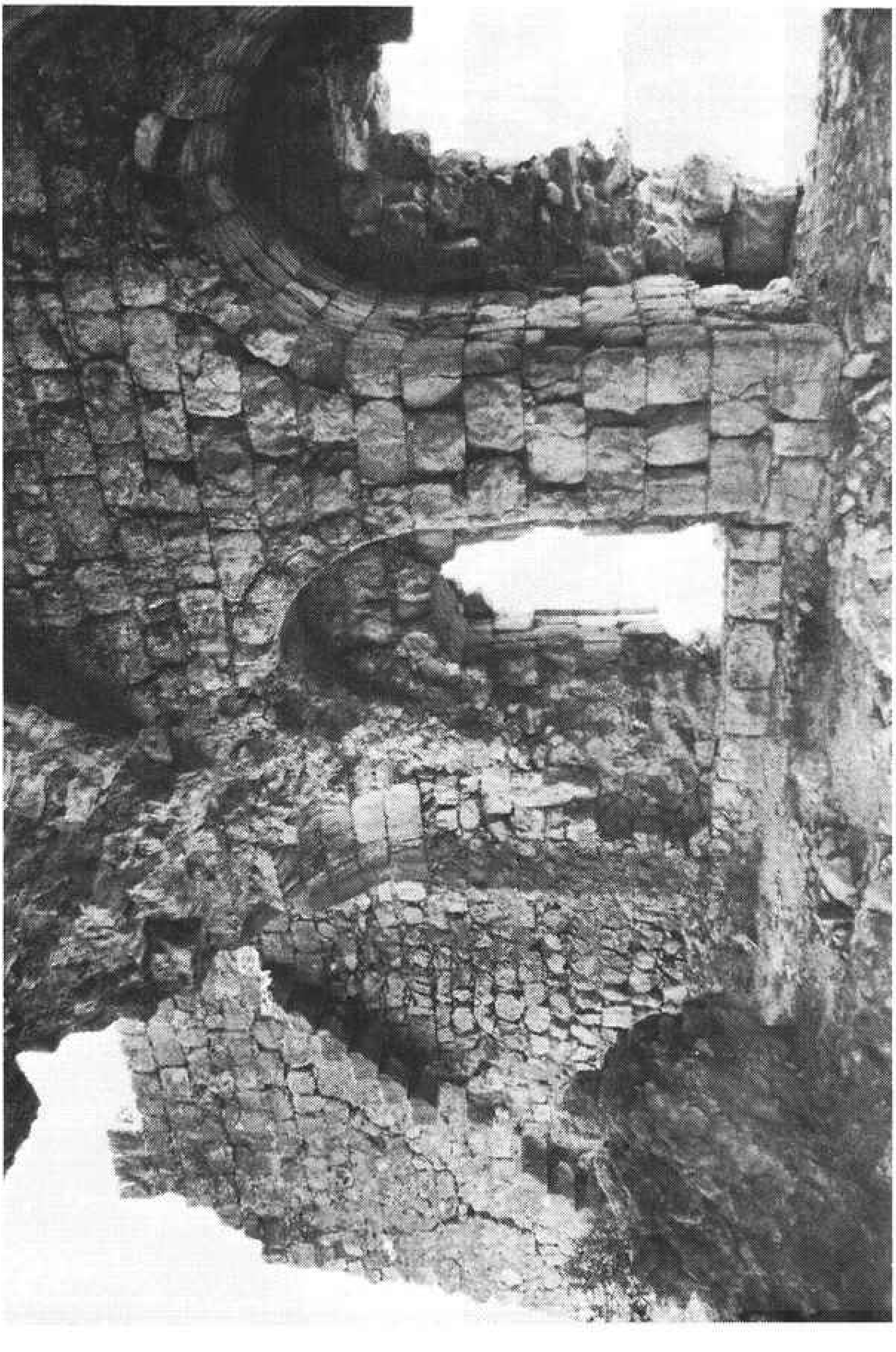

Plate 14. Sis, looking east at the interior of M

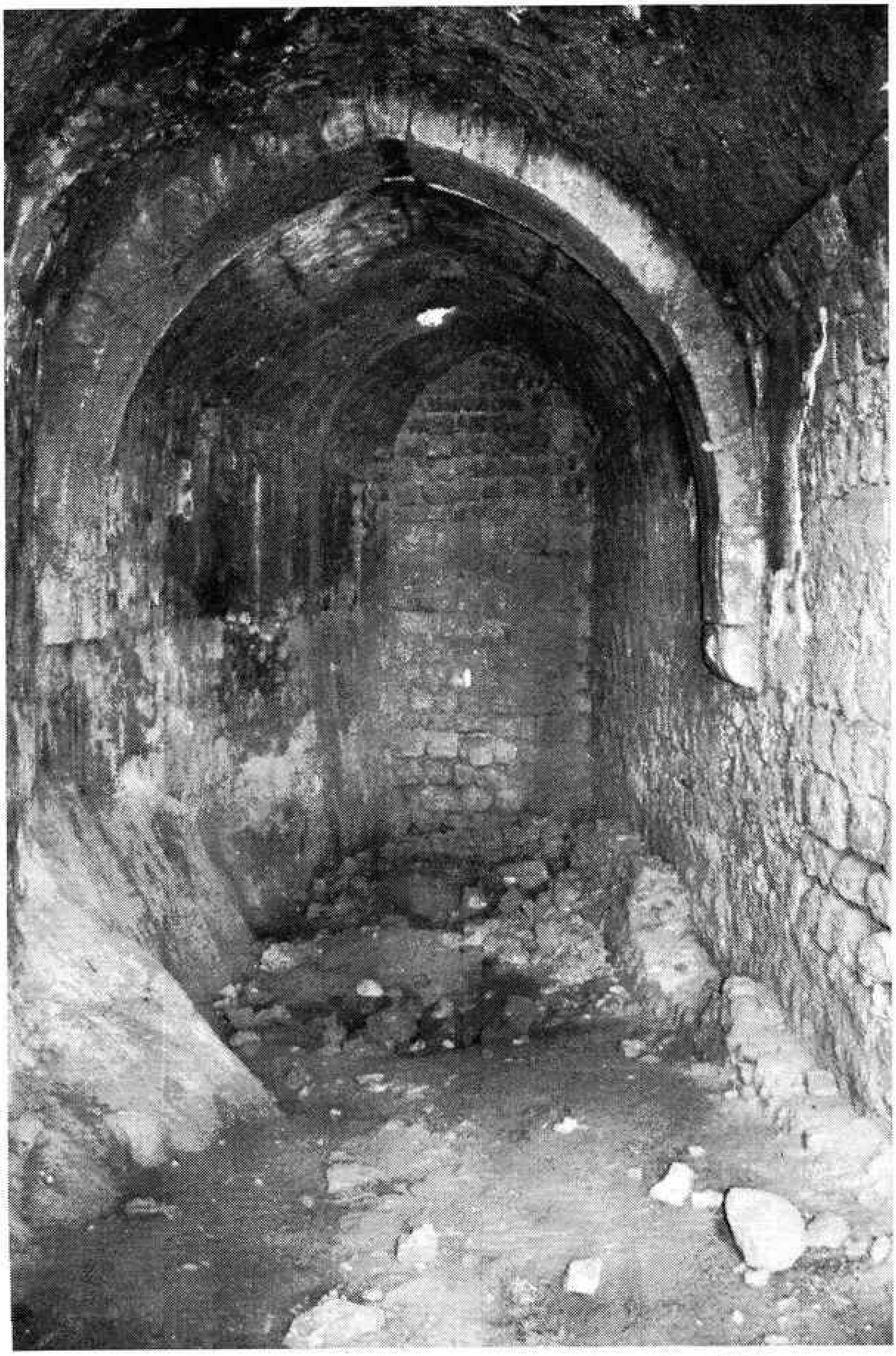

Plate 15. Sis, looking north at the interior of U

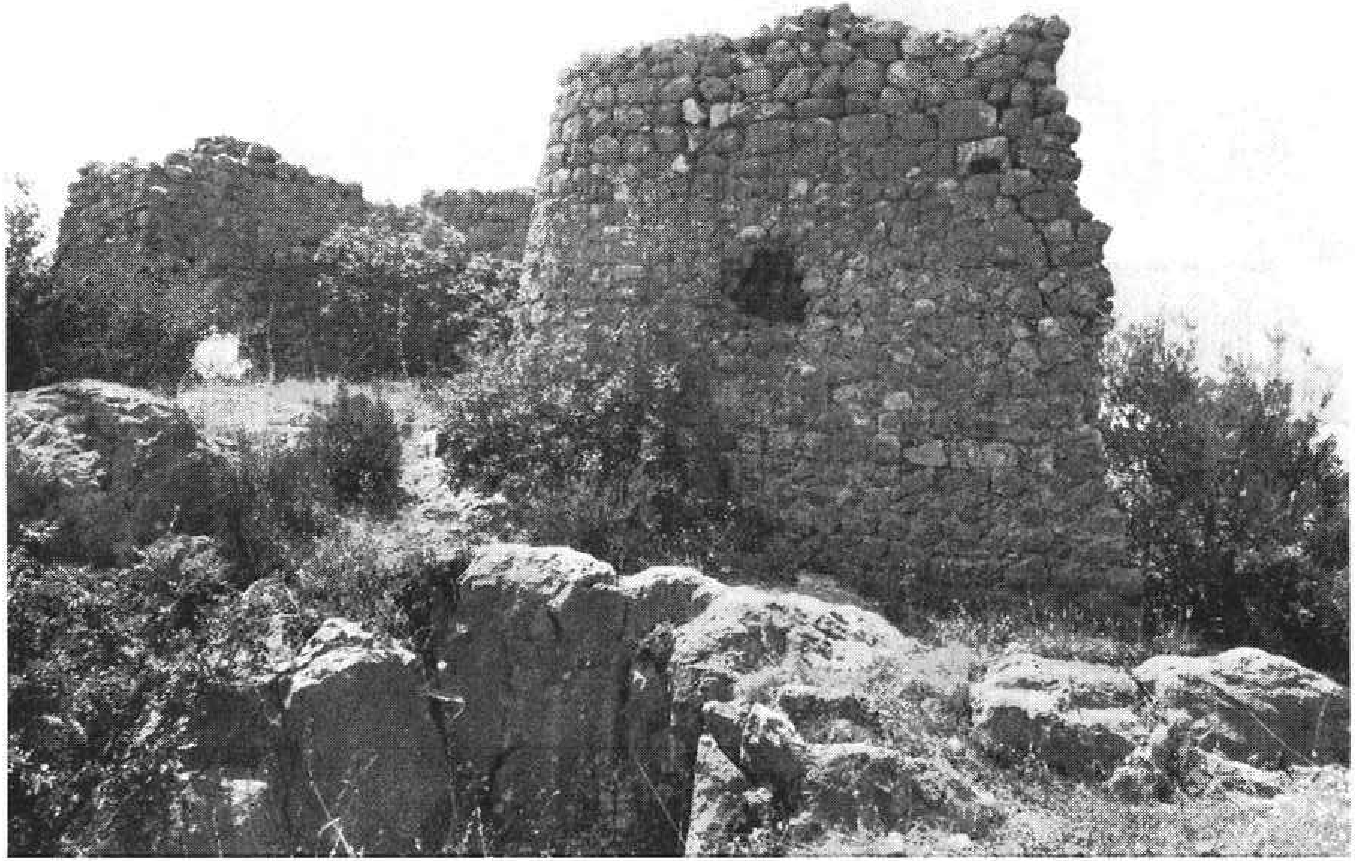

Plate 16. Sis, looking west at V

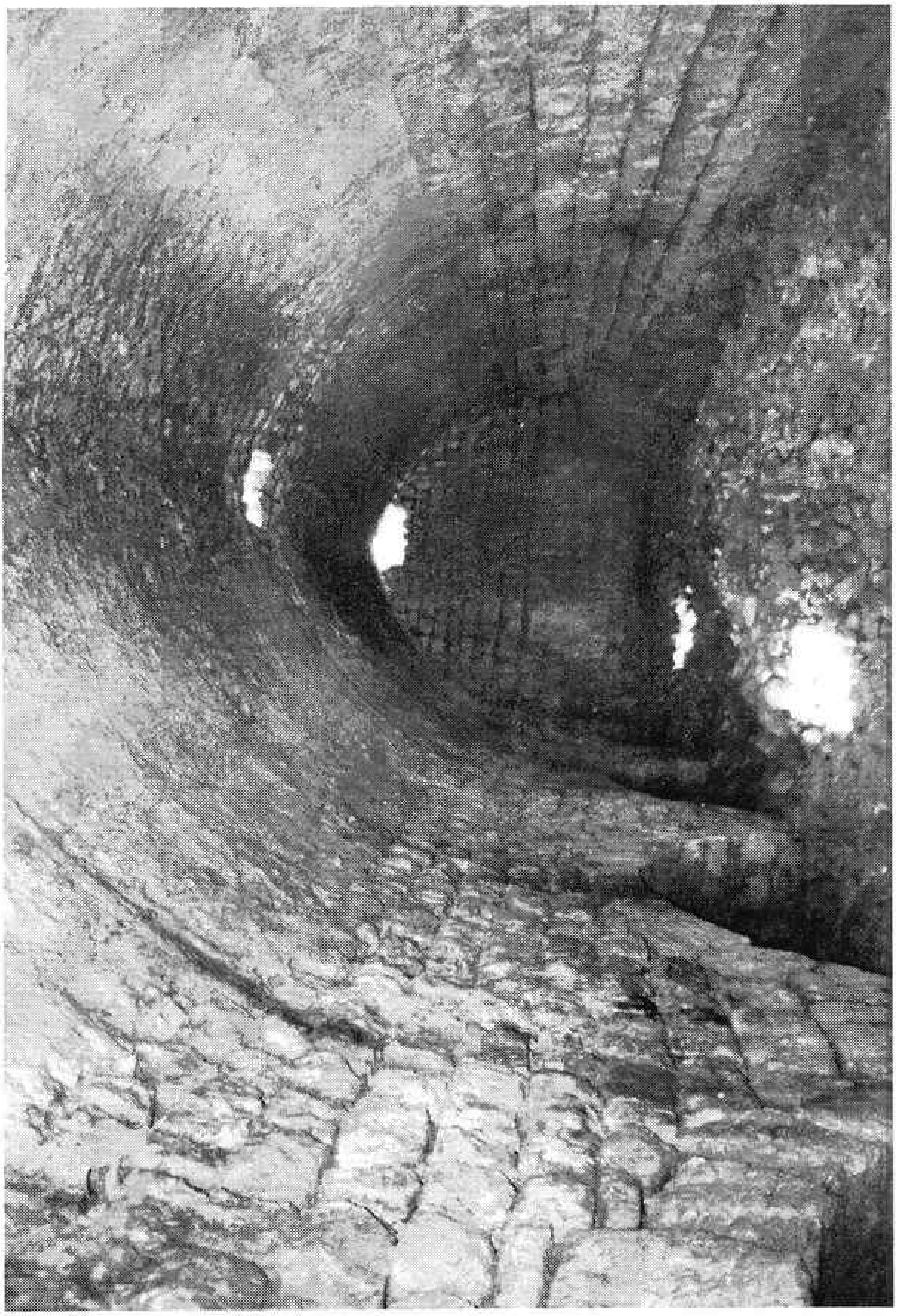

Plate 17. Sis, looking southeast into the west chamber of X

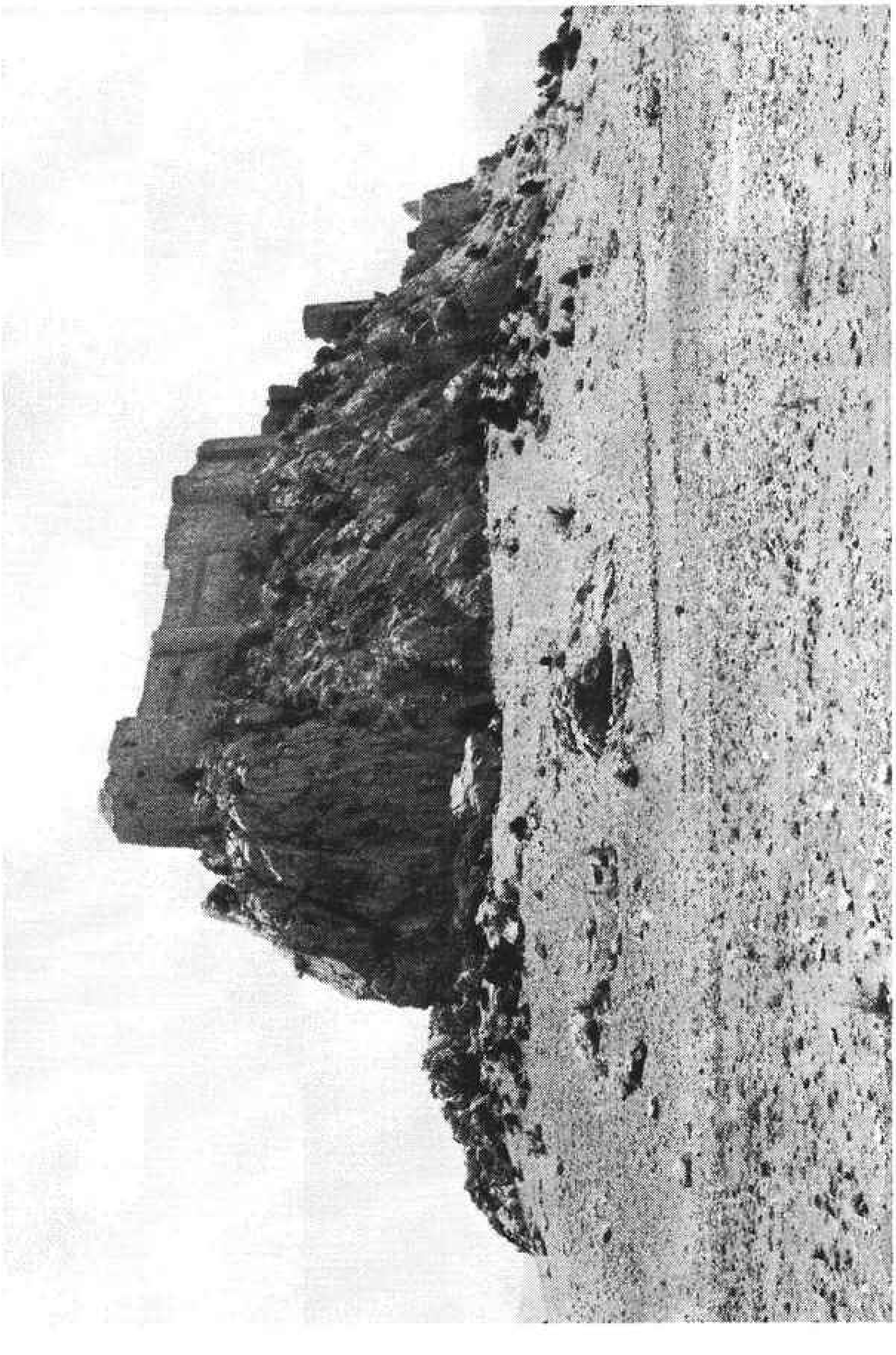

Plate 18. Vahga (Vahka), looking southeast at the fortress-outcrop

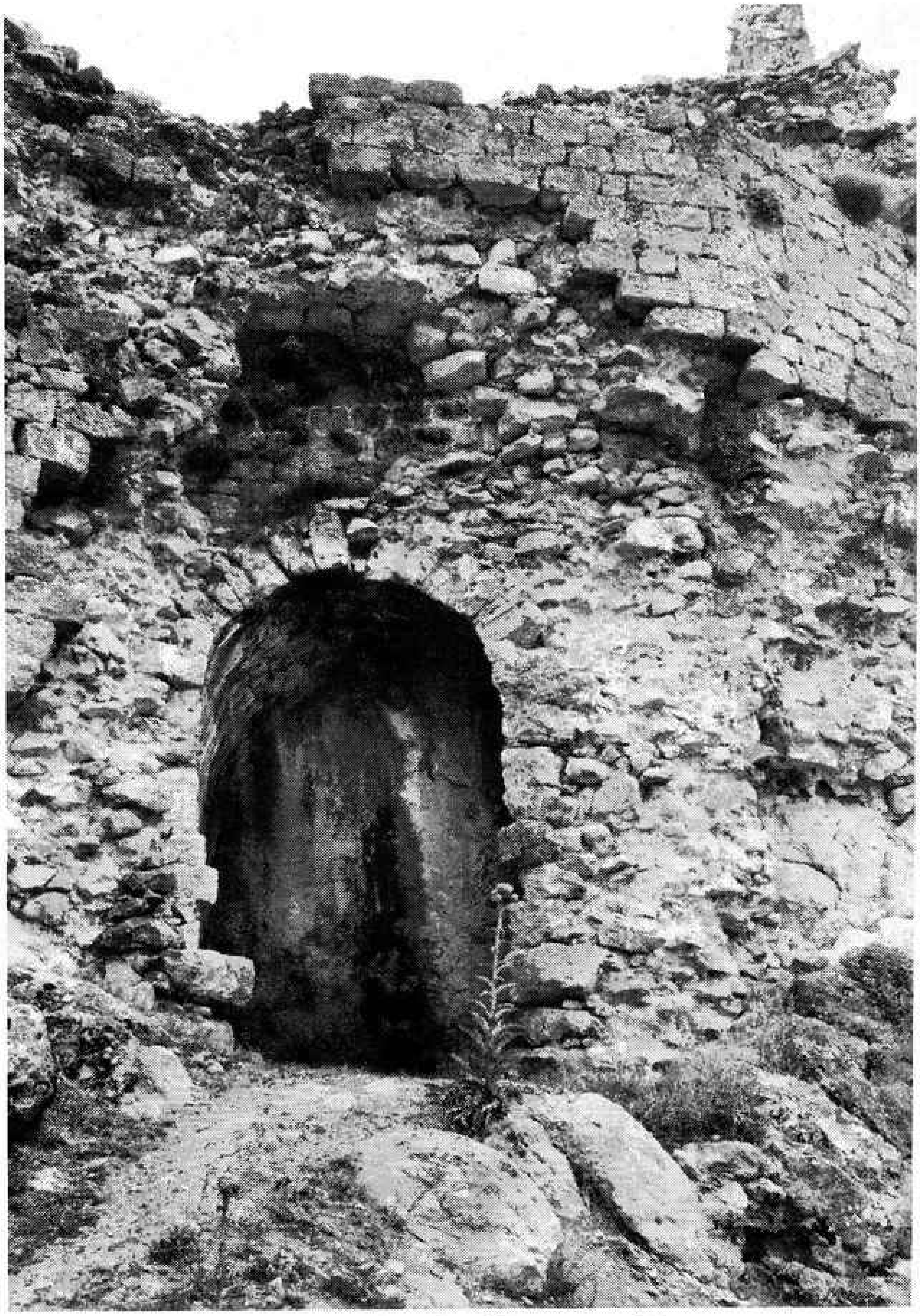

Plate 19. Vahga, looking east at B

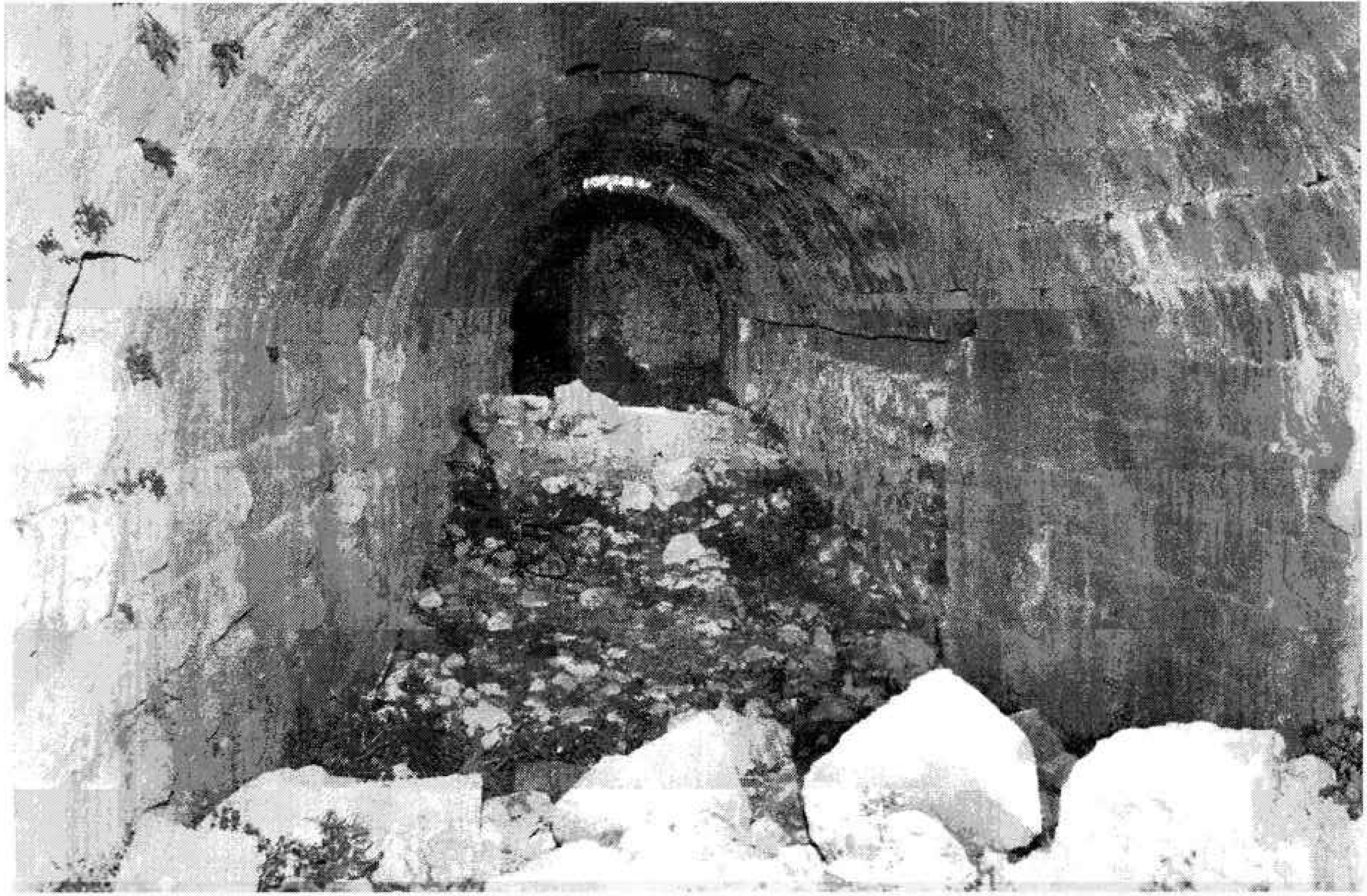

Plate 20. Vahga, looking north through M

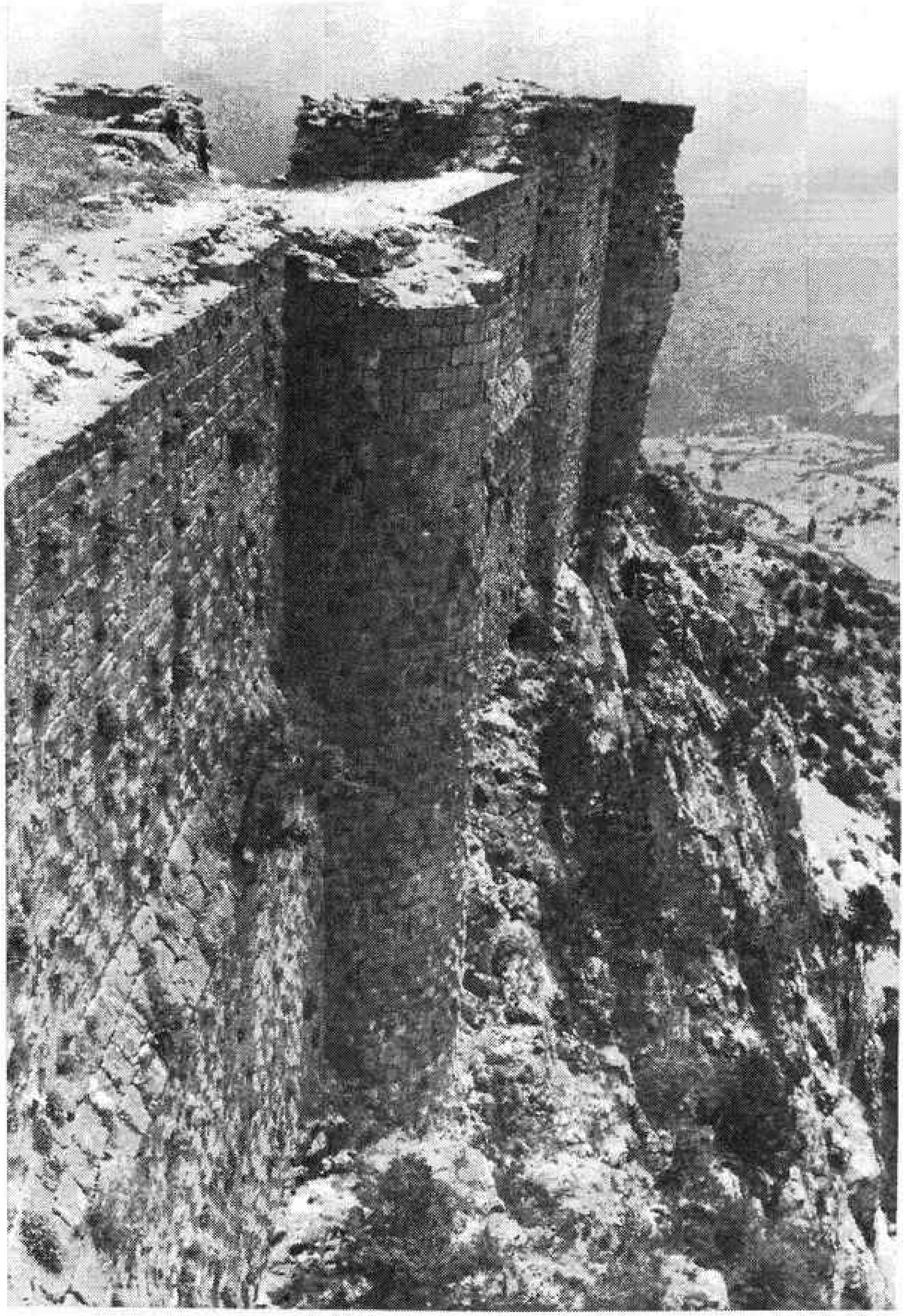

Plate 21. Vahga, looking south at P

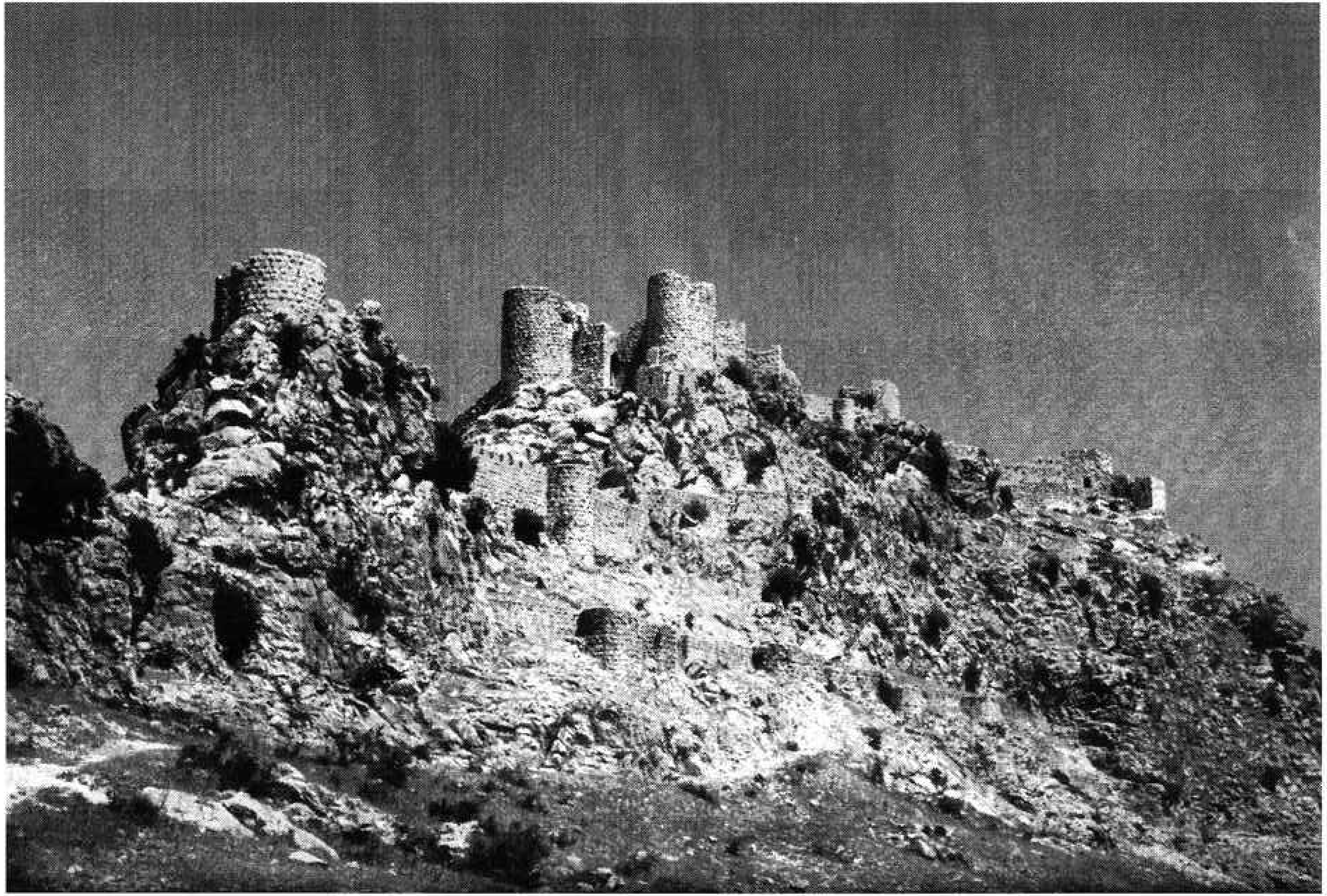

Plate 22. Yilankale, Fortress of King Levon II

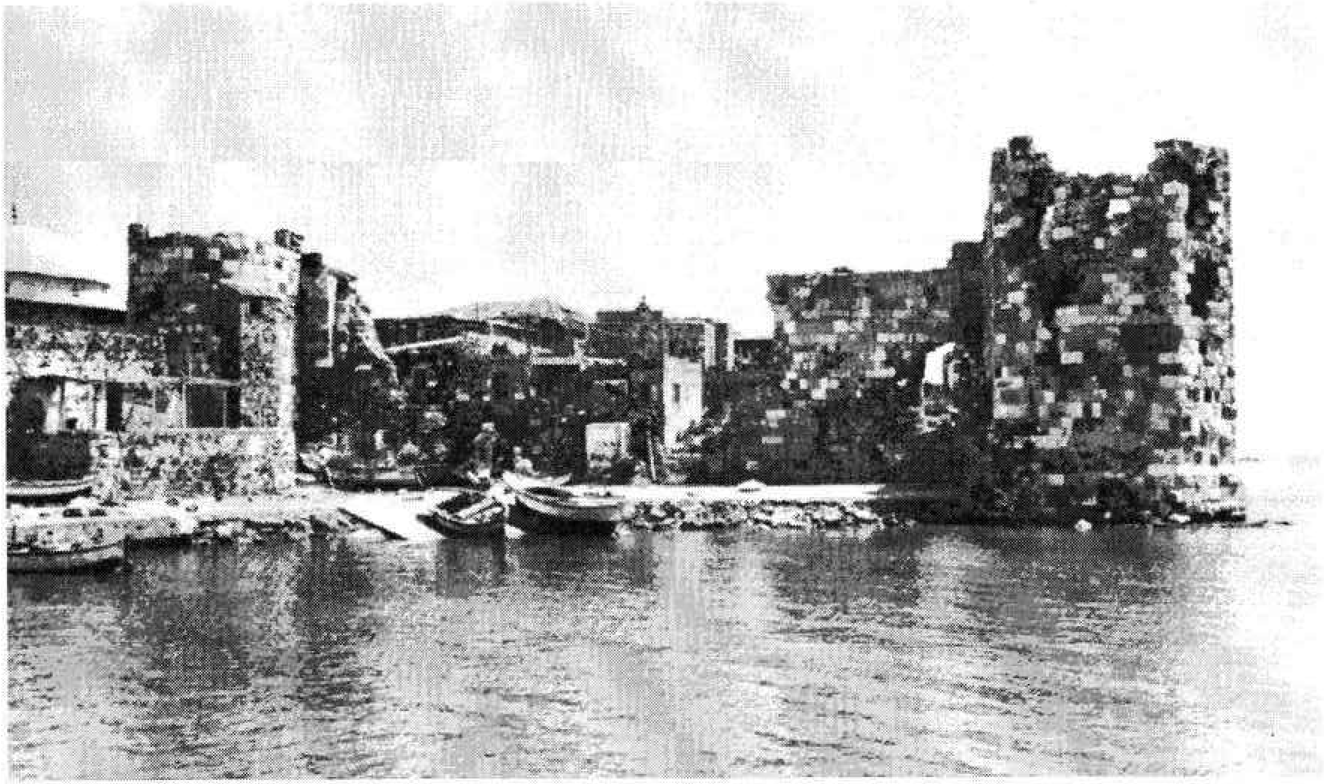

Plate 23. Ayas, looking northeast